

CHARACTERISTICS.

James C. Woodcock.

VOLUME IV.

A Notion of the TABLATURE, or
JUDGMENT OF HERCULES.

A LETTER concerning DESIGN.

To which is now added,

A complete COLLECTION of Lord
SHAFTSBURY'S LETTERS.

Printed in the YEAR MDCCLVIII.



2
T R E A T I S E VII.

V I Z.

A NOTION of the HISTORICAL
DRAUGHT or TABLATURE

O F T H E

Judgment of HERCULES,

According to PRODICUS,

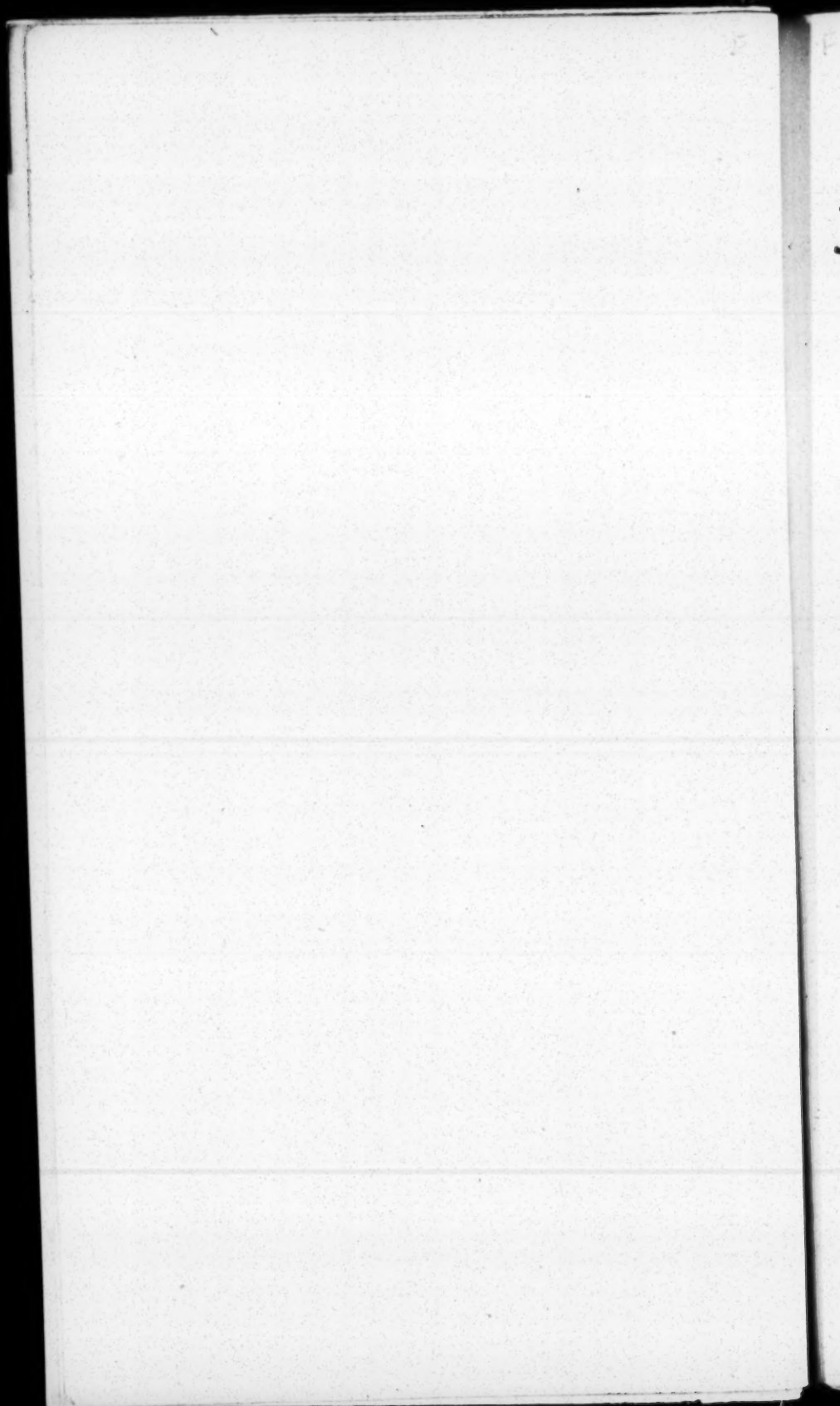
Lib. II. Xen. de Mem. Soc.

Potiores

HERCULIS aerumnas credat, saevosque labores,
Et Venere, & coenis, & pluma SARDANAPALI.

JUV. Sat. 10.

Printed first in the Year M. DCC. XIII.



T H E
J U D G M E N T
O F
H E R C U L E S.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

(1.) **B**EFORE we enter on the examination of our historical sketch, it may be proper to remark, that by the word *tablature* (for which we have yet no name in *English*, besides the general one of *picture*) we denote, according to the original word *TABULA*, a work not only distinct from a mere *portraiture*, but from all those wilder sorts of painting which are in a manner absolute, and independent; such as the paintings *in fresco* upon the walls, the ceilings, the stair-cases, the cupolo's, and other remarkable places either of churches or palaces.

(2.) ACCORDINGLY we are to understand, that it is not merely the shape or dimension of a cloth, or board, which denominates the *piece*, or *tablature*; since a work of this kind may be compos'd of any colour'd substance, as it may of any form; whether square, oval, or round. But 'tis then that in painting we give to any particular work the name of *tablature*, when the work is in reality, “ a
“ *single piece*, comprehended in one view, and
“ form'd according to *one single* intelligence, meaning, or design; which constitutes a *real* WHOLE,

“ by a mutual and necessary relation of its parts, “ the same as of the members in a natural body.” So that one may say of a picture compos’d of any number of figures differently rang’d, and without any regard to this correspondency or union described, that it is no more a real *piece* or *tablature*, than a picture wou’d be a *man’s picture*, or proper *portraiture*, which represented on the same cloth, in different places, the legs, arms, nose, and eyes of such a person, without adjusting them according to the true proportion, air, and character which belong’d to him.

(3.) THIS regulation has place even in the inferior degrees of painting; since the mere flower-painter is, we see, oblig’d to study the form of *festoons*, and to make use of a peculiar order, or architecture of *vases*, *jars*, *cannisters*, *pedestals*, and other inventions, which serve as *machines*, to frame a certain proportionate assemblage, or united mass; according to the rules of perspective; and with regard as well to the different shapes and sizes of his several flowers, as to the harmony of colours resulting from the whole: this being the only thing capable of rendering his work worthy the name of a *composition* or *real piece*.

(4.) So much the more, therefore, is this regulation applicable to *history-painting*, where not only *men*, but *manners*, and human passions are represented. Here *the unity of design* must with more particular exactness be preserv’d, according to the just rules of poetick art; that in the representation of any event, or remarkable fact, the *probability*, or *seeming truth* (which is the *real truth* of art) may with the highest advantage be supported and advanc’d: as we shall better understand in the argument which follows on the historical *Tablature of the judgment of HERCULES*; who being young, and retir’d to a solitary place, in order to deliberate on the choice he was to make of the different ways of life, was accosted (as our historian relates)

by the two Goddesses, VIRTUE and PLEASURE. Ch. I.
 'Tis on the issue of the controversy between these two, that the character of HERCULES depends. So that we may naturally give to this piece and history, as well the title of *The education*, as the *choice* or *judgment* of HERCULES.

C H A P. I.

*Of the general constitution or ordonnance of the
 Tablature.*

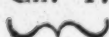
(1.) **T**HIS fable or history may be variously represented, according to the order of time :

Either in the instant when the two Goddesses (VIRTUE and PLEASURE) accost HERCULES ;
 Or when they are enter'd on their dispute ;
 Or when their dispute is already far advanc'd, and VIRTUE seems to gain her cause.

(2.) ACCORDING to the *first* notion, HERCULES must of necessity seem surpriz'd on the first appearance of such miraculous forms. He admires, he contemplates ; but is not yet engag'd or interested. According to the *second* notion, he is interested, divided, and in doubt. According to the *third*, he is wrought, agitated, and torn by contrary passions. 'Tis the last effort of the vicious one, striving for possession over him. He agonizes, and with all his strength of reason endeavours to overcome himself :

Et premitur ratione animus, vincique laborat.

(3.) OF these different periods of time, the latter has been chosen ; as being the only one of the three, which can well serve to express the *grand event*, or consequent *resolution* of HERCULES, and the *choice* he actually made of a life full of toil and hardship, under the conduct of VIRTUE, for the deliverance of mankind from tyranny and op-

Ch. 1.  preffion. And 'tis to such a *piece*, or *Tablature*, as represents this issue of the ballance, in our pondering hero, that we may justly give the title of *the decision or judgment of HERCULES*.

(4.) THE same history may be represented yet according to a *fourth* date or period; as at the time when HERCULES is intirely won by *Virtue*. But then the signs of this resolute determination reigning absolutely in the attitude, and air of our young hero; there wou'd be no room left to represent his agony, or inward conflict, which indeed makes the principal action *here*; as it wou'd do in a *poem*, were this subject to be treated by a good poet. Nor wou'd there be any more room left in this case; either for the persuasive rhetorick of VIRTUE (who must have already ended her discourse) or for the insinuating address of PLEASURE, who having lost her cause, must necessarily appear displeas'd, or out of humour: a circumstance which wou'd no way sute her character.

(5.) IN the original story or fable of this adventure of our young HERCULES, 'tis particularly noted, that PLEASURE advancing hastily before VIRTUE, began her plea, and was heard with prevention; as being first in turn. And as this fable is wholly *philosophical* and *moral*, this circumstance in particular is to be consider'd as essential.

(6.) IN this *third* period therefore of our history (dividing it, as we have done, into *four* successive dates or points of time) HERCULES being auditor, and attentive, speaks not. PLEASURE has spoken. VIRTUE is still speaking. She is about the middle, or towards the end of her discourse; in the place where, according to just rhetorick, the highest tone of voice and strongest action are employ'd.

(7.) 'TIS evident, that every master in painting, when he has made choice of the determinate date or point of time, according to which he wou'd represent his history, is afterwards debar'd the tak-

ing advantage from any other action than what is immediately present, and belonging to that single instant he describes. For if he passes the present only for a moment, he may as well pass it for many years. And by this reckoning he may with as good right repeat the same figure several times over, and in one and the same picture represent HERCULES in his cradle, struggling with the serpents; and the same HERCULES of full age, fighting with the *Hydra*, with *Anteus*, and with *Cerberus*: which wou'd prove a mere confus'd heap, or knot of pieces, and not a single intire *piece*, or *tablature*, of the historical kind:

(8.) IT may however be allowable, on some occasions, to make use of certain *enigmatical* or *emblematical* devises, to represent a future time: as when HERCULES, yet a mere boy, is seen holding a small club, or wearing the skin of a young lion. For so we often find him in the best *antiques*. And tho history had never related of HERCULES, that being yet very young, he kill'd a lion with his own hand; this representation of him wou'd nevertheless be entirely conformable to *poetick truth*; which not only admits, but necessarily presupposes *prophecy* or *prognostication*, with regard to the actions and lives of heroes and great men. Besides that as to our subject, in particular, the natural genius of HERCULES, even in his tenderest youth, might alone answer for his handling such arms as these, and bearing, as it were in play, these early tokens of the future hero.

(9.) To preserve therefore a just conformity with *historical truth*, and with the *unity of time* and *action*, there remains no other way by which we can possibly give a hint of any thing future, or call to mind any thing past, than by setting in view such passages or events as have actually subsisted, or according to nature might well subsist, or happen together in *one and the same instant*. And this

Ch. I. is what we may properly call *the rule of consistency*.

(10.) How is it therefore possible (says one) to express a change of passion in any subject, since this change is made by succession; and that in this case the passion which is understood as present, will require a disposition of body and features wholly different from the passion which is over, and past? To this we answer, That notwithstanding the ascendancy or reign of the principal and immediate passion, the artist has power to leave still in his subject the tracks or footsteps of its predecessor: so as to let us behold not only a rising passion together with a declining one; but, what is more, a strong and determinate passion, with its contrary already discharg'd and banish'd. As for instance, when the plain tracks of tears new fallen, with other fresh tokens of mourning and dejection, remain still in a person newly transported with joy at the sight of a relation or friend, who the moment before had been lamented as one deceas'd or lost.

(11.) AGAIN, by the same means which are employ'd to call to mind *the past*, we may anticipate *the future*: as wou'd be seen in the case of an able painter, who shou'd undertake to paint this history of HERCULES according to the third date or period of time propos'd for our historical tablatüre. For in this momentary turn of action, HERCULES remaining still in a situation expressive of suspense and doubt, wou'd discover nevertheless that the strength of this inward conflict was over, and that Victory began now to declare her self in favour of *Virtue*. This transitions, which seems at first so mysteriou a performance, will be easily comprehended, if one considers, that the body, which moves much slower than the mind, is easily out-strip'd by this latter; and that the mind on a sudden turning it-self some new way, the nearer situated and more sprightly parts of the body (such as the eyes and muscles about the mouth and fore-


head) taking the alarm, and moving in an instant, may leave the heavier and more distant parts to adjust themselves, and change their attitude, some moments after. Ch. I.

(12.) THIS different operation may be distinguish'd by the names of *anticipation* and *repeal*.

(13.) IF by any other method an artist shou'd pretend to introduce into this piece any portion of time future or past, he must either sin directly against the law of *truth* and *credibility*, in representing things contrary and incompatible; or against that law of *unity* and *simplicity of design*, which constitutes the very being of his work. This particularly shews it-self in a picture, when one is necessarily left in doubt, and unable to determine readily, *which* of the distinct successive parts of the history or action is that *very-one* represented in the design. For even here the case is the same as in the other circumstances of poetry and painting: "That what is principal or chief, shou'd immediately shew itself, without leaving the mind in any uncertainty."

(14.) ACCORDING to this rule of the *unity of time*, if one shou'd ask an artist, who had painted this history of *the judgment of HERCULES*, "Which of these four periods or dates of time above propos'd he intended in his picture to represent;" and it shou'd happen that he cou'd not readily answer, 'Twas this, or that: it wou'd appear plainly he had never form'd a *real notion* of his workman-

* If the same question concerning the *instantaneous* action, or present moment of time, were apply'd to many famous historical paintings much admir'd in the world, they would be found very defective: as we may learn by the instance of that single subject of *ACTEON*, one of the commonest in painting. Hardly is there any where seen a design of this poetical history, without a ridiculous anticipation of the *metamorphosis*. The horns of *ACTEON*, which are the effect of a charm, shou'd

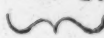
Ch. 2.  ship, or of the history he intended to represent. So that when he had executed even to a miracle all those other beautys requisite in a *piece*, and had fail'd in this single one, he wou'd from hence alone be prov'd to be in truth no *history-painter*, or artist in the kind, who understood not so much as how to form the real design of a *historical piece*.

C H A P. II.

Of the first or principal figure.

(1.) **T**O apply therefore what has been said above to our immediate design or *tableture* in hand; we may observe, in the first place, with regard to HERCULES, (the *first* or *principal figure* of our piece) that being plac'd in the middle, between the two Goddesses, he shou'd by a skilful master be so drawn, as even setting aside the air and features of the face, it shou'd appear by the very turn, or position of the body alone, that this young hero had not wholly quitted the ballancing or pondering part. For in the manner of his turn towards the worthier of these Goddesses, he shou'd by no means appear so averse or separate from the other, as not to suffer it to be conceiv'd of him, that he had ever any inclination for her, or had ever hearken'd to her voice. On the contrary, there ought to be some hopes yet remaining for this latter Goddess PLEASURE, and some regret apparent in HERCULES. Otherwise we

naturally wait the execution of that act in which the charm consists. Till the Goddess therefore has thrown her cast, the hero's person suffers not any change. Even while the water flies, his forehead is still sound. But in the usual design we see it otherwise. The horns are already *sprouted*, if not full grown; and the Goddess is seen watering the *sprouts*.

shou'd pass immediately from the *third* to the *fourth* period : or at least confound one with the other. Ch. 2. 

(2.) HERCULES in this agony describ'd, may appear either sitting or standing : tho it be more according to probability for him to appear standing ; in regard to the presence of the two Goddesses, and by reason the case is far from being the same *here* as in *the judgment of PARIS* ; where the interest-ed Goddesses plead their cause before their judg. Here the interest of HERCULES himself is at stake. 'Tis *his own* cause which is trying. He is in this respect not so much *the judg*, as he is in reality *the party judg'd*.

(3.) THE superiour and commanding passion of HERCULES may be express'd either by a *strong admiration*, or by an admiration which holds chiefly of *love*.

— *Ingenti percussus amore.*

(4.) If the latter be us'd, then the reluctant passion, which is not yet wholly overcome, may shew itself in pity and tenderness, mov'd in our hero by the thought of those pleasures and companions of his youth, which he is going for ever to abandon. And in this sense HERCULES may look either on the one or the other of the Goddesses, with this difference ; that if he looks on *Pleasure*, it shou'd be faintly, and as turning his eyes back with pity ; having still his action and gesture turn'd the other way towards *Virtue*. If, on the contrary, he looks on *Virtue* ; it ought to be earnestly and with extreme attention, having some part of the action of his body inclining still towards *Pleasure*, and discovering by certain features of concern and pity, intermix'd with the commanding or conquering passion, that the decision he is about to make in favour of *Virtue*, cost him not a little.

(5.) If it be thought fit rather to make use of admiration, merely to express the *commanding* pas-

Ch. 2. sion of HERCULES: then the *reluctant-one* may discover it-self in a kind of horroir, at the thought of the toil and labour, to be sustain'd in the rough rocky way apparent on the side of *Virtue*.

(6.) AGAIN, HERCULES may be represented as looking neither towards *Virtue* nor *Pleasure*, but as turning his eyes either towards the mountainous rocky way pointed out to him by *Virtue*, or towards the flowry way of the vale and meadows, recommended to him by *Pleasure*. And to these different attitudes may be apply'd the same rules for the expression of the *turn* or *balance* of judgment in our pensive hero.

(7.) WHATEVER may be the manner chosen for the designing of this figure of HERCULES, according to that part of the history in which we have taken him; 'tis certain he shou'd be so drawn, as neither by the opening of his mouth, or by any other sign, to leave it in the least dubious whether he is speaking or silent. For 'tis absolutely requisite that *silence* shou'd be distingly characteriz'd in HERCULES, not only as the natural effect of his strict attention, and the little leisure he has from what passes at this time within his breast; but in order withal to give that appearance of majesty and superiority becoming the person and character of pleading *Virtue*; who by her eloquence and other charms has e'er this made herself mistress of the heart of our enamour'd hero:

* — *Pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.*

This image of *the sublime* in the discourse and manner of *Virtue*, wou'd be utterly lost, if in the instant that she employ'd the greatest force of action, she should appear to be interrupted by the ill-tim'd speech, reply, or utterance of her auditor. Such a design or representation as this, wou'd prove contrary to order, contrary to the history, and to

* Virg. *Æneid.* lib. 4. ver. 79.

the *decorum*, or decency of manners. Nor can one well avoid taking notice here, of that general absurdity committed by many of the esteem'd great masters in painting; who in one and the same company, or assembly of persons jointly employ'd, and united according to the history, in one single or common action, represent to us not only *two* or *three*, but *several*, and sometimes *all* speaking at once. Which must naturally have the same effect on the eye, as such a conversation wou'd have upon the ear, were we in reality to hear it.

Ch. 3.

C H A P. III.

Of the second figure.

(1.) **A**FTER what has been said on the subject of HERCULES, it appears plainly what the *attitude* must be of our second figure, *Virtue*; who, as we have taken her in this particular period of our history, must of necessity be *speaking* with all the force of action, such as wou'd appear in an excellent orator, when at the height, and in the most affecting part of his discourse.

(2.) SHE ought therefore to be drawn *standing*; since 'tis contrary to all probable appearance, and even to nature it-self, that in the very heat and highest transport of speech, the speaker shou'd be seen sitting, or in any posture which might express repose.

(3.) SHE may be *habited* either as an AMAZON, with the helmet, lance, and in the robe or vest of PALLAS; or as any other of the *Virtues*, *Godesses*, or *Heroines*, with the plain original crown, without rays, according to genuine antiquity. Our history makes no mention of a helmet, or any other armour of *Virtue*. It gives us only to understand that she was dress'd neither negligently, nor with much study or ornament. If we follow this latter method, we need give her only in her hand the

Ch. 3. imperial or * magisterial sword; which is her true characteristick mark, and wou'd sufficiently distinguish her, without the helmet, lance, or other military habit. And in this manner the opposition between herself and her rival wou'd be still more beautiful and regular.—“But this beauty, says one, “wou'd be discoverable only by the learned.”—Perhaps so. But then again there wou'd be no loss for others: since no-one wou'd find this piece the less intelligible on the account of this regulation. On the contrary, one who chanc'd to know little of antiquity in general, or of this history in particular, wou'd be still further to seek, if upon seeing an arm'd woman in the piece, he shou'd represent to himself either a PALLAS, a BELLONA, or any other warlike form, or deity of the female kind.

(4.) As for the *shape, countenance, or person of Virtue*; that which is usually given to PALLAS may fitly serve as a model for this dame; as on the other side, that which is given to VENUS may serve in the same manner for her rival. The historian whom we follow, represents *Virtue* to us as a lady of a goodly form, tall and majestick. And by what he relates of her, he gives us sufficiently to understand, that tho she was neither lean, nor of a tanned complexion, she must have discover'd however, by the substance and colour of her flesh, that she was sufficiently accusom'd to exercise. *Pleasure*, on the other hand, by an exact opposition, is represented in better case, and of a softness of complexion; which speaks her manners, and gives her a middle character between the person of a VENUS, and that of a BACCHINAL Nymph.

(5.) As for the *position, or attitude of Virtue*; tho in a historical piece, such as ours is design'd, 'twou'd on no account be proper to have immediate recourse to the way of *emblem*; one might, on this occasion, endeavour nevertheless by some artifice,

* Parazonium.

to give our figure, as much as possible, the resemblance of the same *Goddeſs*, as ſhe is ſeen on medals, and other antient emblematick pieces of like nature. In this view, ſhe ſhou'd be ſo deſign'd, as to ſtand firm with her full poize upon one foot, having the other a little advanc'd, and rais'd on a broken piece of ground or rock, inſtead of the helmet or little globe on which we ſee her uſually ſetting her foot, as triumphant, in thoſe pieces of the emblematick kind. A particular advantage of this attitude, ſo judiciously aſſign'd to *Virtue* by antient maſters, is, that it expreſſes well her aspiring effort, or aſcent towards the ſtars and heaven, as her victory and ſuperiority over fortune and the world. For ſo the poets have, of old, deſcrib'd her :

Ch. 3.

* — *Negata tentat iter via.*

† *Virtutiſque viam deſerit arduæ.*

And in our piece particularly, where the *arduous* and *rocky way* of *Virtue* requires to be emphatically repreſented; the aſcending poſture of this figure, with one foot advanc'd, in a ſort of climbing action, over the rough and thorny ground, muſt of neceſſity, if well executed, create a due effect, and add to the ſublime of this ‡ antient *poetick* work.

(6.) As for the *hands* or *arms*, which in real oratory, and during the ſtrength of elocution, muſt of neceſſity be active; 'tis plain in reſpect of our *Goddeſs*, that the arm in particular which ſhe has free to her-ſelf, and is neither encumber'd with lance

* Horat. lib. 3. od. 2.

† Idem ibid. od. 24.

‡ As antient as the poet HESIOD: which appears by the following verſes, cited by our hiſtorian, as the foundation, or firſt draught of this HERCULEAN tablature.

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα ἤϊαδὸν ἐσιν εἰλίσθαι
 ῥηϊδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδὸς, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι νύκτας.
 Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
 Ἀθάνατοι. μακρὸς ὃ δ' ὄρεσις ὁμιος ἐπ' αὐτὴν,
 καὶ πρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἵππῃ δ' ἄς ἄκρον ἵκηται
 ῥηϊδίῃ δ' ἥματα πῖλα, χαλεπῇ περ ἴουσα.

Ch. 3. or sword, shou'd be employ'd another way, and come in, to second the discourse, and accompany it, with a just emphasis and action. Accordingly, *Virtue* wou'd then be seen with this hand, turn'd either *upwards* to the rocky way mark'd out by her with approbation; or to the sky, or stars, in the same sublime sense: or *downwards* to the flowery way and vale, as in a detesting manner, and with abhorrence of what passes there; or last of all (in a disdainful sense, and with the same appearance of detestation) against *Pleasure* her-self. Each manner wou'd have its peculiar advantage. And the best profit shou'd be made of this arm and hand at liberty, to express either the *disapprobation* or the *applause* propos'd. It might prove, however, a considerable advantage to our figure of *Virtue*, if holding the lance, ~~or~~ imperial sword, slightly, with one of her hands stretch'd downwards, she cou'd, by that very hand and action, be made to express *the latter* meaning; opening for that purpose some of the lower fingers of this hand, in a refusing or repelling manner; whilst with the other arm and hand at liberty, she shou'd express as well *the former* meaning, and point out to *HERCULES* the way which leads to honour, and the just glory of heroic actions.

(7.) FROM all these circumstances of history, and action, accompanying this important figure, the difficulty of the design will sufficiently appear, to those who carry their judgment beyond the *mere form*, and are able to consider the character of the *passion* to which it is subjected. For where a real character is mark'd, and *the inward form* peculiarly describ'd, 'tis necessary *the outward* shou'd give place. Whoever shou'd expect to see our figure of *Virtue*, in the exact mein of a *fine talker*, curious in her choice of action, and forming it according to the usual decorum, and regular movement of one of the fair ladys of our age, wou'd certainly be far wide of the thought and genius of this

piece. Such study'd action and artificial gesture may be allow'd to the actors and actresses of the stage. But the good painter must come a little nearer to TRUTH, and take care that his action be not *theatrical*, or at second hand; but *original*, and drawn from NATURE her-self. Now altho in the ordinary tenour of discourse, the action of the party might be allow'd to appear so far govern'd and compos'd by art, as to retain that regular *contraste* and nice ballance of movement which painters are apt to admire as the chief grace of figures; yet in this particular case, where the natural eagerness of debate, supported by a thorow antipathy and animosity, is join'd to a sort of *enthusiastick agitation* incident to our prophetick dame, there can be little of that fashionable mein, or genteel air admitted. The painter who, in such a case as we describe, is bound to preserve the heroick stile, will doubtless beware of representing his heroine as a mere *scold*. Yet this is certain; that it were better for him to expose himself to the meanness of such a fancy, and paint his lady in a high rant, according to the common weakness of the sex, than to engage in the embellishment of the mere *form*; and forgetting the character of severity and reprimand belonging to the illustrious rival, present her to us a fair specious personage, free of emotion, and without the least bent or movement which should express the real *pathetick* of the kind.

C H A P. IV.

Of the third figure.

(1.) **C**ONCERNING *Pleasure* there needs little to be said, after what has been already remark'd in relation to the two preceeding figures. The truth of *appearance*, that of *history*, and even the *decorum* itself (according to what has been explain'd above) require evidently that in this

Ch. 4. period or instant describ'd, *Pleasure* shou'd be found silent. She can have no other language allow'd her than that merely of *the eyes*. And 'twou'd be a happy management for her in the design, if in turning her eyes to meet those of *HERCULES*, she shou'd find his head and face already turn'd so much on the contrary side, as to shew it impossible for her as yet to discover the growing passion of this hero in favour of her rival. By this means she might still with good right retain her fond airs of dalliance and courtship; as having yet discover'd no reason she has to be dissatisfy'd.

(2.) SHE may be drawn either *standing, leaning, sitting, or lying*; without a crown, or crown'd either with roses, or with myrtle; according to the painter's fancy. And since in this *third* figure the painter has so great a liberty left him, he may make good advantage of it for the other *two*; to which *this latter* may be subjected, as the last in order, and of least consequence.

(3.) THAT which makes the greatest difficulty in the disposition or ordonnance of this figure *Pleasure*, is, that notwithstanding the supine air and character of ease and indolence, which shou'd be given her, she must retain still so much life and action, as is sufficient to express her *persuasive effort*, and manner of *indication* towards her proper paths; those of the flowery kind, and vale below, whether she wou'd willingly guide our hero's steps. Now shou'd this *effort* be over-strongly express'd; not only the supine character and air of indolence wou'd be lost in this figure of *Pleasure*; but, what is worse, the figure wou'd seem to speak, or at least appear so, as to create a double meaning, or *equivocal sense* in painting: which wou'd destroy what we have establish'd as fundamental, concerning the absolute reign of *Silence* thro-out the rest of the piece, in favour of *VIRTUE*, the sole speaking party at this instant, or third period of our history.

(4.) ACCORDING to a computation, which in Ch. 5. this way of reasoning might be made, of the whole *motion* or *action* to be given to our figure of *Pleasure*; she shou'd scarce have *one fifth* reserv'd for that which we may properly call *active* in her, and have already term'd her *persuasive* or *indicative effort*. All besides shou'd be employ'd to express (if one may say so) her *inaction*, her *supineness*, *effeminacy*, and *indulgent ease*. The head and body might intirely favour this latter passion. One hand might be absolutely resign'd to it; serving only to support, with much ado, the lolling lazy body. And if the other hand be requir'd to express some kind of gesture or action towards the road of pleasures recommended by this dame; the gesture ought however to be slight and negligent, in the manner of one who has given over speaking, and appears weary and spent.

(5.) FOR the *shape*, the *person*, the *complexion*, and what else may be further remark'd as to the *air* and *manner* of *Pleasure*; all this is naturally comprehended in the opposition, as above stated, between *her-self* and *Virtue*.

C H A P. V.

Of the ornaments of the piece; and chiefly of the drapery, and perspective.

(1.) 'TIS sufficiently known, how great a liberty painters are us'd to take, in the colouring of their habits, and of other draperys belonging to their historical pieces. If they are to paint a *Roman* people, they represent 'em in different dresses; tho it be certain the common people among 'em were habited very near alike, and much after the same colour. In like manner, the *Egyptians*, *Jews*, and other antient nations, as we may well suppose, bore in this particular their respective likeness or resemblance one to another, as

Ch. 5. at present the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and several other people of *Europe*. But such a resemblance as this wou'd, in the way of painting, produce a very untoward effect; as may easily be conceiv'd. For this reason the painter makes no scruple to introduce *philosophers*, and even *apostles*, in various colours, after a very extraordinary manner. 'Tis here that the *historical truth* must of necessity indeed give way to that which we call *poetical*, as being govern'd not so much by *reality*, as by *probability*, or *plausible appearance*. So that a painter, who uses his privilege or prerogative in this respect, ought however to do it cautiously, and with discretion. And when occasion requires that he shou'd present us his *philosophers* or *apostles* thus variously colour'd, he must take care at least so to mortify his colours, that these plain poor men may not appear, in his piece, adorn'd like so many lords or princes of the modern garb.

(2.) If, on the other hand, the painter shou'd happen to take for his subject some solemn entry or triumph, where, according to the truth of *fact*, all manner of magnificence had without doubt been actually display'd, and all sorts of bright and dazzling colours heap'd together and advanc'd, in emulation, one against another; he ought on this occasion, in breach of the *historical truth*, or truth of *fact*, to do his utmost to diminish and reduce the excessive gayety and splendour of those objects, which wou'd otherwise raise such a confusion, opugnancy, and riot of colours, as wou'd to any judicious eye appear absolutely intolerable.

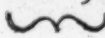
(3.) It becomes therefore an able painter in this, as well as in the other parts of his workmanship, to have regard principally, and above all, to the agreement or correspondency of things. And to that end 'tis necessary he shou'd form in his mind a certain note or character of *unity*, which being happily taken, wou'd out of the many colours of his piece, produce (if one may say so) a

particular distinct species of an original kind : like those compositions in musick, where among the different airs (such as *sonatas, entrys, or sarabands*) there are different and distinct species ; of which we may say in particular, as to each, " That it has " its own proper character or genius, peculiar to " it-self." Ch. 5.

(4.) THUS the *harmony* of painting requires, " That in whatever *key* the painter begins his piece, " he shou'd be sure to finish it in the same."

(5.) THIS regulation turns on the *principal figure*, or on the two or three which are *eminent*, in a tablature compos'd of many. For if the painter happens to give a certain height or richness of colouring to his principal figure ; the rest must in proportion necessarily partake this genius. But if, on the contrary, the painter shou'd have chanc'd to give a softer air, with more gentleness and simplicity of colouring, to his principal figure ; the rest must bear a character proportionable, and appear in an extraordinary simplicity ; that one and the same spirit may, without contest, reign thro the whole of his design.

(6.) Our historical draught of HERCULES will afford us a very clear example in the case. For considering that the hero is to appear on this occasion retir'd and gloomy ; being withal in a manner naked, and without any other covering than a lion's skin, which is it-self of a yellow and dusky colour ; it wou'd be really impracticable for a painter to represent this principal figure in any extraordinary brightness and lustre. From whence it follows, that in the other inferiour figures or subordinate parts of the work, the painter must necessarily make use of such still quiet colours, as may give to the whole piece a character of solemnity and simplicity, agreeable with it-self. Now shou'd our painter honestly go about to follow his historian, according to the literal sense of the history, which represents *Virtue* to us in a resplendent robe of the

Ch. 5.  purest and most glossy white; 'tis evident he must after this manner destroy his piece. The *good painter* in this, as in all other occasions of like nature, must do as the *good poet*; who undertaking to treat some common and known subject, refuses however to follow strictly, like a mere copyist or translator, any preceeding poet or historian; but so orders it, that his work in it-self becomes really new and original.

* *Publica materies privati juris erit, si
Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem;
Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres.*

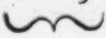
(7.) As for what relates to the *perspective* or *scene* of our historical piece, it ought so to present it-self, as to make us instantly conceive that 'tis in the country, and in a place of retirement, near some wood or forest, that this whole action passes. For 'twou'd be impertinent to bring *architecture* or buildings of whatever kind in view, as tokens of company, diversion, or affairs, in a place purposely chosen to denote solitude, thoughtfulness, and premeditate retreat. Besides, that according to the poets (our guides and masters in this art) neither the Goddesses, nor other divine forms of whatever kind, car'd ever to present themselves to human sight, elsewhere than in these deep recesses. And 'tis worth observing here, how particularly our philosophical historian affects to speak, by way of prevention, of the solitary place where HERCULES was retir'd, and of his thoughtfulness preceding this apparition: which from these circumstances may be constru'd hence-forward as a mere *dream*; but as such, a truly rational, and *divine*-one.

(8.) As to the *fortress*, *temple*, or *palace* of *Virtue*, situated on a mountain, after the emble-

* Hor. de Art. Poet. v. 131.

matical way; as we see represented in some pieces form'd upon this subject; there is nothing of this kind express'd by our historian. And shou'd this or any thing of a like nature present it-self in our design, it wou'd fill the mind with foreign fancys, and mysterious views, no way agreeable to the taste and genius of this piece. Nor is there any thing, at the same time, on PLEASURE's side, to answer, by way of opposition, to this *palace of VIRTUE*; which, if express'd, would on this account destroy the just simplicity and correspondency of our work.

(9.) ANOTHER reason against the *perspective*-part, the *architecture*, or other study'd ornaments of the *landskip*-kind, in this particular piece of ours, is; that in reality there being no occasion for these appearances, they wou'd prove a mere incumbrance to the eye, and wou'd of necessity disturb the sight, by diverting it from that which is principal, the *history* and *fact*. Whatsoever appears in a historical design, which is not essential to the action, serves only to confound the representation, and perplex the mind: more particularly, if these *episodick* parts are so lively wrought, as to vie with the principal subject, and contend for precedency with the *figures* and *human life*. A just design, or tabature, shou'd, at first view, discover, What *nature* it is design'd to imitate; what *life*, whether of the higher or lower kind, it aims chiefly to represent. The piece must by no means be equivocal or dubious; but must with ease distinguish it self, either as *historical* and *moral*, or as *perspective* and merely *natural*. If it be *the latter* of these beautys, which we desire to see delineated according to its perfection, then *the former* must give place. The *higher life* must be allay'd, and in a manner discountenanc'd and obscur'd; whilst the *lower* displays it-self, and is exhibited as principal. Even that which according to a term of art we commonly call *still-life*, and is in reality of the last and lowest degree of painting, must have its superiori-

Ch. 5.  ty and just preference, in a tablature of its own species. 'Tis the same in *animal-pieces*; where beasts, or fowl are represented. In *landskip*, inanimates are principal: 'tis the earth, the water, the stones, and rocks which live. All other life becomes subordinate. Humanity, sense, manners, must in this place yield, and become inferiour. 'Twou'd be a fault even to aim at the expression of any real beauty in this kind, or go about to animate or heighten in any considerable degree the accompanying figures of men, or deities which are accidentally introduc'd, as appendices, or ornaments, in such a piece. But if, on the contrary, the *human species* be that which first presents it-self in a picture; if it be the *intelligent life*, which is set to view; 'tis the *other species*, the *other life*, which must then surrender and become subservient. The *merely natural* must pay homage to the *historical* or *moral*. Every beauty, every grace must be sacrific'd to the *real BEAUTY of this first and highest order*. For nothing can be more deform'd than a confusion of many beautys: and the confusion becomes inevitable, where the subjection is not compleat.

(10.) BY the word *MORAL* is understood, in this place, all sorts of judicious representations of the human passions; as we see even in *battle pieces*; excepting those of distant figures, and the diminutive kind; which may rather be consider'd as a sort of *landskip*. In all other martial pieces, we see express'd in lively action, the several degrees of valour, magnanimity, cowardice, terrour, anger, according to the several characters of nations, and particular men. 'Tis here that we may see *heroes* and *chiefs* (such as the *ALEXANDERS* and *CONSTANTINES*) appear, even in the hottest of the action, with a tranquillity and sedateness of mind peculiar to themselves: which is, indeed, in a direct and proper sense, profoundly *moral*.

(11.) BUT as the *moral* part is differently treat-

ed in a *poem*, from what it is in *history*, or in a *philosophical* work; so must it, of right, in *painting* be far differently treated, from what it naturally is, either in the *history*, or *poem*. For want of a right understanding of this maxim, it often happens that by endeavouring to render a piece highly *moral* and *learned*, it becomes thorowly ridiculous and impertinent.

(12.) FOR the ordinary works of SCULPTURE, such as the *low-relieves*, and ornaments of *columns* and *edifices*, great allowance is made. The very rules of perspective are here wholly revers'd, as necessity requires, and are accommodated to the circumstance and genius of the place or building, according to a certain œconomy or order of a particular and distinct kind; as will easily be observ'd by those who have thorowly study'd the *TRAJAN* and *ANTONINUS-pillars*, and other *relieve-works* of the antients. In the same manner, as to pieces of *ingrav'd* work, medals, or whatever shews itself in one substance (as *brass* or *stone*) or only by shade and light (as in ordinary drawings, or stamps) much also is allow'd, and many things admitted, of the *fantastick*, *miraculous*, or *hyperbolic* kind. 'Tis here, that we have free scope withal for whatever is *learned*, *emblematical*, or *enigmatick*. But for the compleatly imitative and illusive art of *PAINTING*, whose character it is to employ in her works the united force of different colours; and who, surpassing by so many degrees, and in so many privileges, all other human fiction, or imitative art, aspires in a directer manner towards deceit, and a command over our very sense; she must of necessity abandon whatever is over-learned, *humorous*, or *witty*; to maintain herself in what is *natural*, *credible*, and *winning* of our assent: that she may thus acquit her-self of what is her chief province, the *specious appearance of the objects she represents*. Otherwise we shall naturally bring against her the just criticism of Ho-

Ch. 5. RACE, on the scenical representation so nearly ally'd to her :

Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.

(13.) WE are therefore to consider this as a sure maxim or observation in painting, "That a *historical* and *moral* piece must of necessity lose much of its natural simplicity and grace, if any thing of the *emblematical* or *enigmatick* kind be visibly and directly intermix'd." As if, for instance, the circle of the * *zodiack*, with its twelve signs were introduc'd. Now this being an appearance which carries not any manner of similitude or colourable resemblance to any thing extant in real nature ; it cannot possibly pretend to win the sense or gain belief, by the help of any *poetical enthusiasm*, *religious history*, or *faith*. For by means of these, indeed, we are easily induc'd to contemplate as realities those divine personages and miraculous forms, which the leading painters, antient and modern, have speciously design'd, according to the particular doctrine or theology of their several religious and national beliefs. But for our tablature in particular, it carries nothing with it of the mere *emblematical* or *enigmatick* kind : since for what relates to the double way of the vale and mountain, this may naturally and with colourable appearance be represented at the mountain's foot. But if on the summit or highest point of it, we shou'd place the fortress, or palace of *Virtue*, rising above the clouds, this wou'd immediately give the enigmatical mysterious air to our *picture*, and of necessity destroy its persuasive simplicity, and natural appearance.

* This is what RAPHAEL himself has done, in his famous design of *the judgment of PARIS*. But this piece having been never painted, but design'd only for MARC ANTONIO's engraving, it comes not within our censure ; as appears by what is said in the paragraph just preceding.

(14.) IN short, we are to carry this remembrance still along with us, "That the fewer the objects are, besides those which are absolutely necessary in a piece, the easier it is for the eye, by one simple act and in one view, to comprehend the *sum* or *whole*." The multiplication of subjects, tho' subaltern, renders the subordination more difficult to execute in the ordonnance or composition of a work. And if the *subordination* be not perfect, the *order* (which makes the beauty) remains imperfect. Now the *subordination* can never be perfect, except " * when the ordonnance is such, that the eye not only runs over with ease the several parts of the design, (reducing still its view each moment on the principal subject on which all turns) but when the same eye, without the least detainment in any of the particular parts, and resting, as it were, immoveable in the middle, or center of the tablature, may see at once, in an agreeable and perfect correspondence, all which is there exhibited to the sight."

C H A P. VI.

Of the casual or independent ornaments.

(1.) THERE remains for us now to consider only of the separate ornaments, independent both of figures and perspective; such as the † *machine-work* or *divinitys* in the sky, the winds, cupids, birds, animals, dogs, or other loose pieces which are introduc'd without any absolute necessity, and in a way of humour. But as these

* This is what the *Grecian* masters so happily express'd, by the single word *Εὐσύνπτον*. See *Characteristicks*, VOL. I. p. 96, &c.

† This is understood of the *machine-work*, when it is merely ornamental, and not essential in the piece; by making part of the history, or fable it-self.

Ch. 6. belong chiefly to the *ordinary life*, and to the *comick*, or *mix'd kind*; our tablature, which on the contrary is wholly *epick*, *heroick*, and in the *tragick* stile, wou'd not so easily admit of any thing in this light way.

(2.) WE may besides consider, that whereas the mind is naturally led to fancy mystery in a work of such a genius or stile of painting as ours, and to confound with each other the two distinct kinds of the *emblematick* and merely *historical* or *poetick*; we shou'd take care not to afford it this occasion of error and deviation, by introducing into a piece of so uniform a design, such appendices, or supplementary parts, as, under pretext of giving light to the history, or characterizing the figures, shou'd serve only to distract or dissipate the sight, and confound the judgment of the more intelligent spectators.

(3.) "WILL it then (says one) be possible to "make out the story of these two *dames* in company with HERCULES, without otherwise distinguishing them than as above describ'd?"—— We answer, it is possible; and not that only, but certain and infallible, in the case of one who has the least genius, or has ever heard in general concerning HERCULES, without so much as having ever heard this history in particular. But if notwithstanding this, we wou'd needs add some exterior marks, more declaratory and determinative of these two personages, VIRTUE and PLEASURE; it may be perform'd, however, without any necessary recourse to what is absolutely of the *emblem-kind*. The manner of this may be explain'd as follows

(4.) THE energy or natural force of *Virtue*, according to the moral philosophy of highest note among the antients, was express'd in the double effect of *firmness* and *indurance*, or what we

* Καρτερία, Ἐξαρτεία: They were describ'd as sisters

may otherwise call *restraint* and *support*. For Ch. 6.
the former, *the bit or bridle*, plac'd somewhere on the side of *Virtue*, may serve as emblem sufficient; and for the second, *the helmet* may serve in the same manner: especially since they are each of them appurtenances essential to *heroes* (who, in the quality of warriors, were also subduers or * managers of horses) and that at the same time these are really portable instruments, such as the martial dame, who represents *Virtue*, may be well suppos'd to have brought along with her.

(5.) ON the side of PLEASURE, certain *vases*, and other pieces of imboss'd plate, wrought in the figures of *satyrs*, *fawns*, and *Bacchanals*, may serve to express the debauches of the table-kind. And certain draperys thrown carelessly on the ground, and hung upon a neighbouring tree, forming a kind of bower and couch for this luxurious dame, may serve sufficiently to suggest the thought of other indulgences, and to support the image of the effeminate, indolent, and amorous passions. Besides that for this latter kind, we may rest satisfy'd, 'tis what the painter will hardly fail of representing to the full. The fear is, lest he shou'd overdo this part, and express the affection too much to the life. The appearance will, no doubt, be strongly wrought in all the features and proportions of this *third figure*; which is of a relish far more popular, and vulgarly ingaging, than that *other* oppos'd to it, in our historical design.

in the emblematick moral philosophy of the antients. Whence that known precept, Ἀνέχου & Ἀπέχου, SUSTINE & ABSTINE.

* CASTOR, POLLUX; all the heroes of HOMER; ALEXANDER the Great, &c.

CONCLUSION.

(1.) **W**E may conclude this argument with a general reflection, which seems to arise naturally from what has been said on this subject in particular; "That in a real *history-painter*, the "same knowledg, the same study, and views, are "requir'd, as in a real *poet*." Never can the *poet* (whilst he justly holds that name) become a *relator*, or *historian* at large. He is allow'd only to describe a single action; not the actions of a single man, or people. The *painter* is a historian at the same rate, but still more narrowly confin'd, as in fact appears; since it wou'd certainly prove a more ridiculous attempt to comprehend two or three distinct actions or parts of history in *one* picture, than to comprehend ten times the number in *one* and *the same* poem.

(2.) 'Tis well known, that to each species of poetry, there are natural proportions and limits assign'd. And it wou'd be a gross absurdity indeed to imagine, that in a poem there was nothing which we cou'd call *measure* or *number*, except merely in the verse. An elegy, and an epigram have each of 'em their measure and proportion, as well as a tragedy, or epick poem. In the same manner, as to painting, sculpture, or statuary, there are particular measures which form what we call a *piece*: as for instance, in mere portraiture, a *head*, or *bust*; the former of which must retain always the whole, or at least a certain part of the neck; as the latter the shoulders, and a certain part of the breast. If any thing be added or retrench'd, the *piece* is destroy'd. 'Tis then a mangled trunk, or dismember'd body, which presents it-self to our imagination; and this too not thro use merely, or on the account of custom, but of necessity, and by the nature of the appearance: since there are such and such parts of the human body, which are na-

turally match'd, and must appear in company: the section, if unskilfully made, being in reality horrid, and representing rather an *amputation* in surgery, than a seemly *division* or *separation* according to art. And thus it is, that in general, thro all the plattick arts, or works of imitation, "Whatsoever is drawn from nature, with the intention of raising in us the imagination of the natural species or object, according to real beauty and truth, shou'd be compriz'd in certain compleat portions or districts, which represent the correspondence or union of each *part* of nature, with *intire NATURE her self*." And tis this natural apprehension, or anticipating sense of *unity*, which makes us give even to the works of our inferiour artizans, the name of *pieces* by way of excellence, and as denoting the *justness* and *truth* of work.

(3.) IN order therefore to succeed rightly in the formation of any thing truly beautiful in this higher order of design; 'twere to be wish'd that the artist, who had understanding enough to comprehend what a *real piece* or *tablature* imported, and who, in order to this, had acquir'd the knowledg of a *whole* and *parts*, wou'd afterwards apply himself to the study of *moral* and *poetick truth*: that by this means the thoughts, sentiments, or *manners*, which hold the first rank in his historical work, might appear futable to the higher and nobler species of humanity in which he practis'd, to the genius of the age which he describ'd, and to the principal or main action which he chose to represent. He wou'd then naturally learn to reject those false ornaments of *affected graces*, *exaggerated passions*, *hyperbolical* and *prodigious forms*; which equally with the mere *capricious* and *grotesque*, destroy the just *simplicity*, and *unity*, essential in a *PIECE*. And for his *colouring*; he wou'd then soon find how much it became him to be reserv'd, severe, and chaste, in this particular of his art;

where luxury and libertinism are, by the power of fashion and the modern taste, become so universally establish'd.

(4.) 'Tis evident however from reason it-self, as well as from * history and experience, that nothing is more fatal, either to painting, architecture, or the other arts, than this *false relish*, which is govern'd rather by what immediately strikes the sense, than by what consequentially and by reflection pleases the mind, and satisfies the thought and reason. So that whilst we look on *painting* with the same eye, as we view commonly the rich stuffs, and colour'd silks worn by our ladys, and admir'd in dress, equipage, or furniture, we must of necessity be effeminate in our taste, and utterly set wrong as to all judgment and knowledg in the kind. For of this *imitative art* we may justly say;
 " That tho it borrows help indeed from colours,
 " and uses them, as means, to execute its designs;
 " It has nothing, however, more wide of its real
 " aim, or more remote from its intention, than
 " to make a *shew* of colours, or from their mix-
 " ture, to raise a † *separate* and *flattering* plea-
 " sure to the SENSE."

* See VITRUVIUS and PLINY.

† The pleasure is plainly foreign and separate; as having no concern or share in the proper delight or entertainment which naturally arises from the subject, and workmanship it-self. For the subject, in respect of pleasure, as well as science, is absolutely compleated, when the design is executed, and the propos'd imitation once accomplish'd.* And thus it always is the best, when the colours are most subdu'd, and made subservient.

A
L E T T E R
CONCERNING THE
A R T, or S C I E N C E
O F
D E S I G N,

Written from ITALY, on the occasion of
The Judgment of HERCULES,

T O
M Y L O R D * * *

———— *Ante omnia Musae.*

VIRG. Georg. lib. ii.

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L E T T E R

C O N C E R N I N G

D E S I G N.

M Y L O R D,

THIS letter comes to your Lordship, accompany'd with a small writing intitled **A NOTION**: for such alone can that piece deservedly be call'd, which aspires no higher than to the forming of a *project*, and that too in so vulgar a science as *painting*. But whatever the subject be, if it can prove any way entertaining to you, it will sufficiently answer my design. And if possible it may have that good success, I shou'd have no ordinary opinion of my project; since I know how hard it wou'd be to give your Lordship a real entertainment by any thing which was not in some respect worthy and useful.

On this account I must, by way of prevention, inform your Lordship, that after I had conceiv'd my **NOTION** such as you see it upon paper, I was not contented with this, but fell directly to work; and by the hand of a master-painter brought it into *practice*, and form'd a real *design*. This was not enough. I resolv'd afterwards to see what

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D

effect it wou'd have, when taken out of mere black-and-white, into colours: and thus a *sketch* was afterwards drawn. This pleas'd so well, that being encourag'd by the *virtuosi*, who are so eminent in this part of the world, I resolv'd at last to engage my painter in the great work. Immediately a cloth was bespoke of a suitable dimension, and the figures taken as big or bigger than the common life; the subject being of the heroick kind; and requiring rather such figures as shou'd appear above ordinary human stature.

THUS my NOTION, as light as it may prove in the *treatise*, is become very substantial in the *workmanship*. The piece is still in hand; and like to continue so for some time. Otherwise the first draught or design shou'd have accompany'd the *treatise*; as the *treatise* does this letter. But the *design* having grown thus into a *sketch*, and the *sketch* afterwards into a *picture*; I thought it fit your lordship shou'd either see the several pieces together, or be troubled only with that which was the best; as undoubtedly the great one must prove, if the master I employ sinks not very much below himself, in this performance.

FAR surely shou'd I be, my Lord, from conceiving any vanity or pride in amusements of such an inferior kind as these; especially were they such as they may naturally at first sight appear. I pretend not here to apologize either for *them*, or for *myself*. Your Lordship however knows, I have naturally ambition enough to make me desirous of employing my-self in business of a higher order: since it has been my fortune in publick affairs to act often in concert with you, and in the same views, on the interest of EUROPE and mankind. There was a time, and that a very early one of my life, when I was not wanting to my country, in this respect. But after some years of hearty labour and pains in this kind of workmanship, an unhapp-

py breach in my health drove me not only from the seat of business, but forc'd me to seek these foreign climates; where, as mild as winters generally are, I have with much ado liv'd out this *latter-one*; and am now, as your Lordship finds, employing my self in such easy studys as are most futable to my state of health, and to the genius of the country where I am confin'd.

THIS in the mean time I can, with some assurance, say to your Lordship in a kind of spirit of prophecy, from what I have observ'd of the rising genius of our nation, That if we live to see a peace any way answerable to that generous spirit with which this war was begun, and carry'd on, for our *own* liberty and that of EUROPE; the figure we are like to make abroad, and the increase of knowledg, indutry and sense at home, will render united BRITAIN the principal seat of arts; and by her politeness and advantages in this kind, will shew evidently, how much she owes to those counsels, which taught her to exert herself so resolutely in behalf of the *common cause*, and that of her own *liberty*, and happy *constitution*, necessarily included.

I CAN my-self remember the time, when, in respect of MUSICK, our reigning taste was in many degrees inferior to the *French*. The long reign of luxury and pleasure under king CHARLES the second, and the foreign helps and study'd advantages given to *musick* in a following reign, could not raise our genius the least in this respect. But when the spirit of the nation was grown more *free*, tho engag'd at that time in the fiercest war, and with the most doubtful success, we no sooner began to turn our-selves towards *musick*, and enquire what ITALY in particular produced, than in an instant we outstrip'd our neighbours the FRENCH, enter'd into a genius far beyond theirs,

and rais'd our-selves an *ear*, and *judgment*, not inferior to the best now in the world.

IN the same manner, as to PAINTING. Tho we have as yet nothing of our own native growth in this kind worthy of being mention'd; yet since the publick has of late begun to express a relish for ingravings, drawings, copyings, and for the original paintings of the chief *Italian* schools, (so contrary to the modern *French*) I doubt not that, in very few years, we shall make an equal progress in this other science. And when our humour turns us to cultivate these designing arts, our genius, I am persuaded, will naturally carry us over the slighter amusements, and lead us to that higher, more serious, and noble part of *imitation*, which relates to *history*, *human nature*, and the chief degree or order of BEAUTY; I mean that of the *rational* life, distinct from the merely *vegetable* and *sensible*, as in animals, or plants; according to those several degrees or orders of painting, which your Lordship will find suggested in this extemporary *notion* I have sent you.

AS for ARCHITECTURE, 'tis no wonder if so many noble designs of this kind have miscarry'd amongst us; since the genius of our nation has hitherto been so little turn'd this way, that thro several reigns we have patiently seen the noblest publick buildings perish (if I may say so) under the hand of one single court-architect; who, if he had been able to profit by experience, wou'd long since, at our expence, have prov'd the greatest matter in the world. But I question whether our patience is like to hold much longer. The devastation so long committed in this kind, has made us begin to grow rude and clamorous at the hearing of a new palace spoilt, or a new design committed to some rash or impotent pretender.

'Tis the good fate of our nation in this particular, that there remain yet two of the noblest

subjects for architecture; our prince's *palace*, and our *house of parliament*. For I can't but fancy that when *Whitehall* is thought of, the neighbouring *Lords* and *Commons* will at the same time be plac'd in better chambers and apartments, than at present; were it only for majesty's sake, and as a magnificence becoming the person of the prince, who here appears in full solemnity. Nor do I fear that when these new subjects are attempted, we shou'd miscarry as grossly as we have done in others before. Our *state*, in this respect, may prove perhaps more fortunate than our *church*, in having waited till a national taste was form'd, before these edifices were undertaken. But the zeal of the nation cou'd not, it seems, admit so long a delay in their ecclesiastical structures, particularly their *metropolitan*. And since a zeal of this sort has been newly kindled amongst us, 'tis like we shall see from afar the many spires arising in our great city, with such hasty and sudden growth, as may be the occasion perhaps that our immediate relish shall be hereafter censur'd, as retaining much of what artists call the *Gothick* kind.

HARDLY, indeed; as the publick now stands, shou'd we bear to see a *Whitehall* treated like a *Hampton-Court*, or even a new cathedral like *St. PAUL's*. Almost every-one now becomes concern'd, and interests himself in such publick structures. Even those pieces too are brought under the common censure, which, tho rais'd by private men, are of such a grandure and magnificence, as to become national ornaments. The ordinary man may build his cottage, or the plain gentleman his country-house according as he fancies: but when a great man builds, he will find little quarter from the publick, if instead of a beautiful pile, he raises, at a vast expence, such a false and counterfeit piece of magnificence, as can be justly arraign'd for its deformity by so many knowing men in art, and by

the whole *people*, who, in such a conjuncture, readily follow their opinion.

IN reality *the people* are no small partys in this *cause*. Nothing moves successfully without 'em. There can be no PUBLICK, but where they are included. And without a *publick voice*, knowingly guided and directed, there is nothing which can raise a true ambition in the artist; nothing which can exalt the genius of the workman, or make him emulous of after-fame, and of the approbation of his *country*, and of *posterity*. For with *these* he naturally, as a *freeman*, must take part: in *these* he has a passionate concern, and interest, rais'd in him by the same genius of *liberty*, the same *laws* and *government*, by which this property, and the rewards of his pains and industry are secur'd to him, and to his generation after him.

EVERY thing co-operates, in such a *state*, towards the improvement of *art* and *science*. And for the *designing arts* in particular, such as *architecture*, *painting*, and *statuary*, they are in a manner link'd together. The taste of one kind brings necessarily that of the others along with it. When the *free spirit* of a nation turns it-self this way, judgments are form'd; criticks arise; the publick eye and ear improve; a right taste prevails, and in a manner forces its way. Nothing is so improving, nothing so natural, so *congenial* to the liberal arts, as that reigning liberty and high spirit of a people, which from the habit of judging in the highest matters for themselves, makes 'em freely judg of other subjects, and enter thorowly into the characters as well of *men* and *manners*, as of the *products* or *works* of men, in art and science. So much, my Lord, do we owe to the excellence of our national constitution, and legal monarchy; happily fitted for us, and which alone cou'd hold together so mighty a people; all sharers (tho at so far a distance from each other) in the government

of themselves; and meeting under *one* head in *one* vast *metropolis*; whose enormous growth however censurable in other respects, is actually a cause that workmanship and arts of so many kinds arise to such perfection.

WHAT encouragement our higher powers may think fit to give these growing arts, I will not pretend to guess. This I know, that 'tis so much for their advantage and interest to make themselves the chief partys in the cause, that I wish no court or ministry, besides a truly virtuous and wise one, may ever concern themselves in the affair. For shou'd they do so, they wou'd in reality do more harm than good; since 'tis not the nature of a court (such as courts generally are) to improve, but rather corrupt a *taste*. And what is in the beginning set wrong by their example, is hardly ever afterwards recoverable in the genius of a nation.

CONTENT therefore I am, my Lord, that BRITAIN stands in this respect as she now does. Nor can one, methinks, with just reason regret her having hitherto made no greater advancement in these affairs of art. As her *constitution* has grown, and been establish'd, she has in proportion fitted her-self for other improvements. There has been no anticipation in the case. And in this surely she must be esteem'd wise, as well as happy; that ere she attempted to raise her self any other taste or relish, she secur'd her self a right one in *government*. She has now the advantage of beginning in other matters, on a new foot. She has her *models* yet to seek, her *scale* and *standard* to form, with deliberation and good choice. Able enough she is at present to shift for herself; however abandon'd or helpless she has been left by those whom it became to assist her. Hardly, indeed, cou'd she procure a single *academy* for the training of her youth in exercises. As good soldiers as we

are, and as good horses as our climate affords, our princes, rather than expend their treasure this way, have suffer'd our youth to pass into a foreign nation, to learn to ride. As for other academys, such as those for painting, sculpture, or architecture, we have not so much as heard of the proposal; whilst the prince of our rival nation raises academys, breeds youth, and sends rewards and pensions into foreign countrys, to advance the interest and credit of his own. Now if, notwithstanding the industry and pains of this foreign court, and the supine unconcernedness of our own, the national taste however rises, and already shews it-self in many respects beyond that of our so highly-assisted neighbours; what greater proof can there be of the superiority of genius in one of these nations above the other?

'Tis but this moment that I chance to read in an article of one of the gazettes from PARIS, that 'tis resolv'd at court to establish a new *academy* for political affairs. "In it the present chief-minister is to preside; having under him six academists, *douëz des talens nécessaires* — No person to be receiv'd under the age of twenty-five. A thousand livres pension for each scholar — Able masters to be appointed for teaching them the necessary sciences, and instructing them in the treatys of peace and alliances, which have been formerly made — The members to assemble three times a week — *C'est de ce seminaire (says the writer) qu'on tirera les secretaires d'ambassade; qui par degrez pourront monter à de plus hauts emplois.*"

I MUST confess, my Lord, as great an admirer as I am of these regular institutions, I can't but look upon an *academy for ministers* as a very extraordinary establishment; especially in such a monarchy as FRANCE, and at such a conjuncture as the present. It looks as if the ministers of that

court had discover'd lately some new methods of negotiation, such as their predeceffors RICHIEU and MAZARINE never thought of ; or that, on the contrary, they have found themselves so declin'd, and at such a loss in the management of this present treaty, as to be forc'd to take their lesson from some of those ministers with whom they treat : a reproach, of which, no doubt, they must be highly sensible.

BUT 'tis not my design here, to entertain your Lordship with any reflections upon politicks, or the methods which the FRENCH may take to raise themselves *new* ministers, or *new* generals ; who may prove a better match for us than hitherto, whilst we held our *old*. I will only say to your Lordship on this subject of *academys* ; that indeed I have less concern for the deficiency of such a one as this, than of any other which cou'd be thought of, for ENGLAND ; and that as for a seminary of *statesmen*, I doubt not but, without this extraordinary help, we shall be able, out of our *old* stock, and the common course of business, constantly to furnish a sufficient number of well-qualify'd persons to serve upon occasion, either at home, or in our foreign treatys ; as often as such persons accordingly qualify'd shall duly, honestly, and *bona fide* be requir'd to serve.

I RETURN therefore to my *virtuoso*-science ; which being my chief amusement in this place and circumstance, your Lordship has by it a fresh instance that I can never employ my thoughts with satisfaction on any subject, without making you a party. For even this very NOTION had its rise chiefly from the conversation of a certain day, which I had the happiness to pass a few years since in the country with your Lordship. 'Twas there you shew'd me some ingravings, which had been sent you from ITALY. One in particular I well remember ; of which the subject was the very same with that

of my written NOTION inclos'd. But by what hand it was done, or after what master, or how executed, I have quite forgot. 'Twas the summer-season, when you had recess from business. And I have accordingly calculated this *epistle* and *project* for the same recess and leisure. For by the time this can reach ENGLAND, the spring will be far advanc'd, and the national affairs in a manner over, with those who are not in the *immediate administration*.

WERE *that* indeed your Lordship's lot, at present; I know not whether in regard to my country I shou'd dare throw such amusements as these in your way. Yet even in this case, I wou'd venture to say however, in defence of my project, and of the *cause of painting*; that cou'd my young hero come to your Lordship as well represented as he might have been, either by the hand of a * MARAT or a JORDANO, (the masters who were in being, and in repute, when I first travel'd here in ITALY) the *picture* it-self, whatever the *treatise* prov'd, wou'd have been worth notice, and might have become a present worthy of our court, and prince's *palace*; especially were it so blest'd as to lodge within it a royal issue of her majesty's. Such a piece of furniture might well fit the gallery, or hall of exercises, where our young princes shou'd learn their usual lessons. And to see VIRTUE in this garb and action, might perhaps be no slight memorandum hereafter to a *royal youth*, who shou'd one day come to undergo this trial himself; on which his own happiness, as well as the fate of EUROPE and of the world, wou'd in so great a measure depend.

* *Carlo Marat* was yet alive, at the time this letter was written; but had been long super-annuated, and incapable of any considerable performance.

THIS, my Lord, is making (as you see) the most I can of my *project*, and setting off my amusements with the best colour I am able; that I may be the more excusable in communicating them to your Lordship, and expressing thus, with what zeal I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Naples, March 6.

N. S. 1712.

most faithful

humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTERS

OF THE EARL OF

SHAFTESBURY,

AUTHOR OF THE

CHARACTERISTICKS.

Printed in the YEAR, M. DCC. LVIII.

VOL. IV.

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L E T T E R S

OF THE EARL OF

SHAFTESBURY,

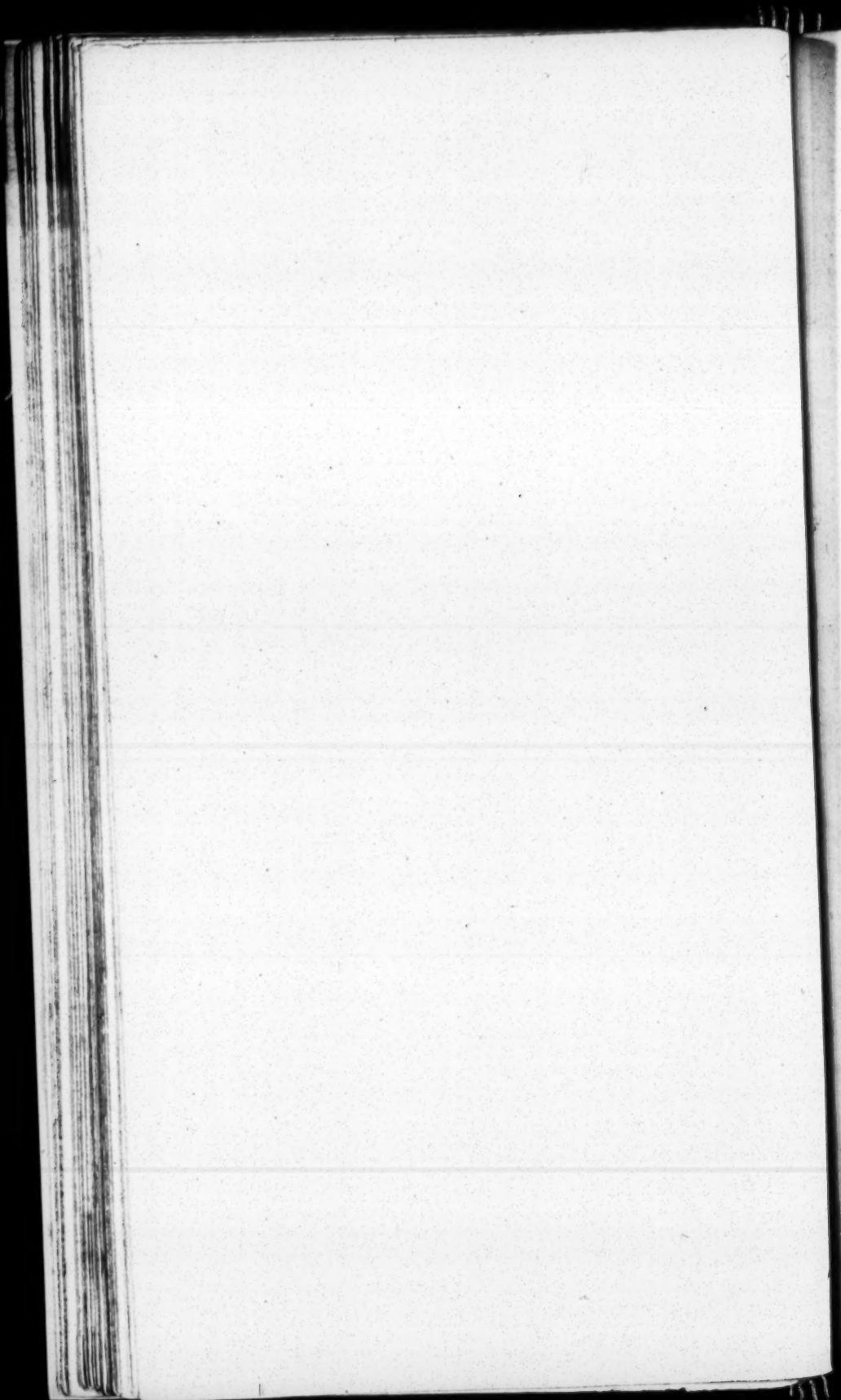
TO A

S T U D E N T

AT THE

UNIVERSITY.

Printed first in the YEAR M D C C X V I.



L E T T E R I.

Feb. 24th, 1706-7.

I ACCEPT kindly the offer of your correspondence, and chiefly, as it comes from you with heartiness, and (the best of characters) **SIMPLICITY**. When this disposition of heart attends our searches into learning and philosophy; we need not fear being *vainly puff'd up*, or falling into that false way of wisdom, which the scripture calls *vain philosophy*. When the improvement of our minds, and the advancement of our reason, is all we aim at; and this only to fit us for a perfecter, more rational, and worthier service of GOD; we can have no scruples, whether or no the work be an acceptable one to him. But where neither our duty to mankind, nor obedience to our CREATOR, is any way the end or object of our studies or exercises; be they ever so curious or exquisite, they may be justly stiled *vain*; and often the vainer, for carrying with them the false shew of excellence and superiority.

ON this account, tho' there be no part of learning more advantageous even towards divinity, than logicks, metaphysicks, and what we call *university-learning*; yet nothing proves more dangerous to young minds unforewarn'd, or, what is worse, prepossess'd, with the excellency of such learning; as if all wisdom lay in the solution of those

Let. 1. riddles of the school-men, who, in the last ages of the church, found out an effectual way to destroy religion by philosophy, and render reason and philosophy ridiculous, under that garb they had put on it. If your circumstances or condition suffer you to enter into the world by a university; well is it for you, that you have prevented such prepossession.

HOWEVER, I am not sorry, that I lent you Mr. LOCKE's *essay of human understanding*; which may as well qualify for business and the world, as for the sciences and a university. No one has done more towards the recalling of philosophy from barbarity, into use and practice of the world, and into the company of the better and politer sort; who might well be ashamed of it in its other dress. No one has opened a better or clearer way to *reasoning*. And above all, I wonder to hear him censur'd so much by any church of ENGLAND-men, for advancing reason, and bringing the use of it so much into religion; when it is by this only that we fight against the *enthusiasts*, and repel the great enemies of our church. 'Tis by this weapon alone that we combat those *visionaries*, who in the last age broke in so foully upon us, and are now (pretendedly at least) esteemed so terrible and *dangerous*.

BUT tho' I am one of those, who in these truly happy times esteem our church as wholly *out of danger*; yet should we hearken to those men, who disclaim this use of reason in religion, we must lay our selves open afresh to all phanaticks. For what else is PHANATICISM? Where does the stress of their cause lie? Are not their unintelligible motions of the Spirit; their unexpressible pretended feelings, apprehensions, and lights within; their inspirations in prophecy, extempore prayer, preaching, &c. are not these, I say, the foundations, on which they build their cause? Are not our *cold*

dead reasonings, (as they call them,) a reproach Let. 1. and stumbling block to them; if you will believe their leaders, who are instantly cut off from all their pretences to gifts and spirits, and supernatural graces; if they are once brought to the test of cool reason and deliberate examination? And can we thus give up our cause, by giving up reason? Shall we give them up our TILLOTSONS, our BARROWS, our CHILLINGWORTHS, our HAMMONDS? For what less is it to give up this way of reason so much decry'd by those condemnors of Mr. LOCKE? But such is the spirit of some men in controversial matters. A certain noted clergy-man of learning and ability, and great reputed zeal, a great enemy of Mr. LOCKE, has (as I am lately told) turn'd rigid *Calvinist*, as to all the points of *predestination*, *free-grace*, &c. and not only this clergyman, but several more in the university of that *high party*, who ran as high in opposition to CALVINISM but one reign or two since. The reason of this is but too obvious. Our bishops and dignify'd church-men, (the most worthily and justly dignify'd of any in any age,) are, as they ever were, inclinable to moderation in the high *Calvinistick* points. But they are also inclinable to moderation in other points.

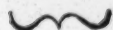
Hinc illæ lachrymæ.

THEY are for toleration, *inviolable toleration*; (as our QUEEN nobly and *Christianly* said it, in her speech a year or two since :) and this is it-self intolerable with our high gentlemen, who despise the gentleness of their lord and master, and the sweet mild government of our QUEEN, preferring rather that abominable blasphemous representative of church power, attended with the worst of temporal governments, as we see it in perfection of each kind in FRANCE. From this, and from

Let. 1. its abettors of every kind and in every way, I
 pray GOD deliver us, whilst we are duly thankful
 for what in his providence he has already done
 towards it, and to the happiness and glory of our
 excellent QUEEN and country. So farewell. I
 am your good friend to serve you,

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L E T T E R II.

May 10th, 1707.

SINCE your disposition inclines you so strongly towards universality-learning; and your sound exercise of your reason, and the integrity of your heart, give good assurance against the narrow principles, and contagious manner of those corrupted places, whence all noble and *free* principles ought rather to be propagated; I shall not be wanting to you on my part; when I shall see the fruit of your studies, life, and conversation, answerable to those good seeds of principles you seem to carry in you.

I AM glad to find your love of reason and *free thought*. Your piety and virtue, I know, you will always keep; especially since your desires and natural inclinations are towards so serious a station in life, which others undertake too slightly, and without examining their hearts.

PRAY GOD direct you, and confirm your good beginnings, and in the practice of *virtue* and *religion*; assuring your self, that the highest principle, which is *the love of GOD*, is best attained not by dark speculations and *monkish philosophy*, but by moral practice, and love of mankind, and a study of their interests: the chief of which, and that which only raises them above the degree of brutes, is *freedom of reason* in the learned world, and good government and *liberty* in the civil world. Tyranny in one is ever accompanied, or soon followed, by tyranny in the other. And when slave-

L^{et.} 2. ry is brought upon a people, they are soon reduced to that base and brutal state, both in their understandings and morals.

TRUE zeal therefore for GOD, or religion, must be supported by real love for mankind : and love of mankind cannot consist but with a right knowledge of man's great interests, and of the only way and means, (that of liberty and freedom,) which GOD and nature has made necessary and essential to his manly dignity and character. They therefore, who betray these principles, and the rights of mankind, betray religion, even so as to make it an instrument against it-self.

BUT I must have done, and am your good friend to serve you,

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L E T T E R III.

November 19th, 1707.

TRULY, if your heart correspond intirely with your pen ; and if you thoroughly feel those good principles you have express'd ; I cannot but have a great increase of kindness and esteem for you.

IMAGINE not, that I suspect you of so mean a thing, as hypocrisy or affected virtue : I am fully satisfied you mean and intend what you write. But alas ! the misfortune of *youth*, and not of youth merely, but of human nature, is such, that it is a thousand times easier to frame the highest ideas of virtue and goodness, than to practise the least part. And perhaps this is one of the chief reasons, why virtue is so ill practis'd ; because the impressions, which seem so strong at first, are too far remov'd on. We are apt to think, that what appears so fair, and strikes us so forcibly, at the first view, will surely hold with us. We launch forth into speculation ; and after a time, when we look back, we see how slowly *practice* comes up to it ; we are the sooner led to despondency, the higher we had carried our views before.

REMEMBER, therefore, to restrain your self within due bounds ; and to adapt your contemplation to what you are capable of practising. For there is a sort of *spiritual ambition* : and in reading those truly divine authors, whom you have sometimes cited to me, I have observ'd many to

Let. 3. have miscarried by too fervent and eager a pursuit of such perfection.

GLAD I am, however, that you are not one of those dull souls, that are incapable of any spiritual refinement. I rejoice to see you raise your self above the rank of sordid and sensual spirits, who, tho' set apart and destin'd to *spirituals*, understand not, that there is any thing preparatory to it, beyond a little scholarship and knowledge of *forms*. I rejoice to see, that you think of other preparations, and another discipline of the heart and mind, than what is thought of amongst that indolent and supine race of men.

You are sensible, I perceive, that there is another sort of study, a profounder meditation, which becomes those, who are to set an example to mankind, and sit themselves to expound and teach those short and summary precepts, and divine laws, deliver'd to us in positive commands by our *sacred* LEGISLATOR.

'Tis our business, and of all, as many as are raised in knowledge above the poor illiterate and laborious vulgar, to explain, as far as possible, the reasons of those laws; their consent with the law of nature; their suitableness to society, and to the peace, happiness, and enjoyment of our selves. 'Tis there alone that we have need of recourse to *fire* and *brimstone*, and what other punishments the divine goodness (for our good) has condescended to threaten us with; where the force of these arguments cannot prevail.

OUR business within our selves, is to set our selves *free*, according to that *perfect law of liberty*, which we are bid to *look into*. And I am delighted to read these words from you, *viz.* that we are made to contemplate and love God *entirely*, and with a *free* and voluntary love. But this, you well see, is a mystery too deep for those souls, whom you converse with, and see a

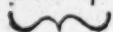
round you. They have scarce heard of what it is to combat with their appetites and senses. They think themselves sufficiently justify'd, as *men*; and sufficiently qualified, as *holy men*, and *teachers of RELIGION*; if they can compass matters, by help of circumstances and outward fortune, so as happily to restrain these lusts and appetites of theirs within the bounds of ordinary human laws. Hence *those allurements of external objects* (as you well remark) they are so far from declining, that they rather raise and advance them by all possible means, without fear of adding fuel to their inflam'd desires, in a heart, which can never burn towards GOD, till those other fires are extinct.

GOD grant, that since you know this better way, this chaste and holy discipline, you may still pursue it, with that just and pious jealousy over your own heart, that neither your eyes, nor any of your senses, may be led away to serve themselves, or any thing, but that CREATOR, who made them for his service, and in whom alone is happiness and rest.

I WISH you well, and shall be glad to hear still of you.

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Let. 4.



LETTER IV.

April 2d, 1708.

I HAVE received yours every week, and am highly satisfied with your thoughts; not doubting but they are truly your own and natural, as well as your manner of expressing them: for in this I would have you keep an intire freedom, and deliver your sentiments still nakedly, and without art or ornament. For it is the *heart* I look for; and tho' the ornaments of style are what you are obliged to study and practise on other occasions; the less you regard 'em, and the greater *simplicity* you discover in writing privately to my self, the greater my satisfaction is, and the more becoming the part you have to act.

I WAS particularly pleas'd with your thoughts and reasonings on CHRISTIAN LIBERTY, and the zeal you shew for that noble principle, by which we cease to be slaves and drudges in religion; and, by being reconciled to our duty, and to the excellence of those precepts and injunctions, which tend absolutely to our good and happiness in every respect, we become *liberal servants and children of GOD*.

A MIND thus released and set at liberty, if it once sees its real good, will hardly be deprived of it, or dishearten'd in the pursuit, whatever discouragement surrounds it. 'Tis the inward enemy alone can stop it. For when a mind, set free from *voluntary error*, and *self-darkening conceits*,

aspires to what is generous and deserving; nothing, but what is vile and slavish from within, can dead-
en it: nothing, but a base love of inward slavery,
and an adherence to our vices and corruptions, is
able to effect this.

IN some, who are horridly degenerate, this sub-
mission is wholly voluntary. Self-interest leads them;
whether it be a private one of their own; or in so-
ciety and confederacy with some *faction* or *party*,
to the support of *temporal ends*. In this case it
carries a specious shew of *publick good*; whether it
be in CHURCH, or STATE. And thus it is often
the occasion of an open denial of reason, and of a
bare-fac'd opposition to the *glorious search of*
TRUTH.

IN others 'tis mere sloth and lazyness, or for-
did appetite and lust, which bringing them under
the power of sin and ignorance, fits them for *po-
litical servitude by moral prostitution*. For when
the tyranny of lust and passion can be indulgently
permitted, and even esteem'd a happiness; no
wonder if *liberty of thought* be in little esteem. E-
very thing civil or spiritual of this kind must needs
be disregarded, or rather look'd upon with jea-
lously and apprehension.

FOR one tyranny supports another: one slave-
ry helps and ministers to another. Vice ministers
to superstition; and a gainful minitress she is:
superstition, on the other hand, returns the kind-
ness, and will not be ungrateful. Superstition
supports persecution, and persecution superstition.

VICE and intemperance is but an inward perse-
cution. 'Tis here, the violence begins. Here
truth is first held in *unrighteousness*, and the *voice of*
reason, the knowable, the intelligible, the divine
part is persecuted and imprison'd. Those, who sub-
mit to this tyranny, in time, not only come to
like it, but plead for it, and think the law of vir-
tue tyrannical and against nature.

Let. 4. So in the absolute governments of the world: nations, that submit to arbitrary rule, love even their form of government; if one may call that a *form*, which is without any, and, like vice it self, knows neither law nor order.

IN this state the mind helps forward the ill work. For when reason, as an antagonist to vice, is become an inward enemy, and has once lost her interest with the soul, by opposing every *favourite passion*; she will then be soon expell'd another province, and lie under suspicion for every attempt she makes upon the mind. She is presently mis-call'd and abus'd. She is thought *notional* in the understanding, *whimsical* in company, *seditious* in the state, *heretical* in the church. Even in philosophy, her own proper dominions, she is look'd upon as none of the best companions: and here also authority is respected as the most convenient guide.

THIS we find to be the temper of *certain places*; where wit and sense, however, are not wanting, nor learning of a *certain kind*. So that what is at the bottom of all this, is easily seen by those, who see those places, and can but make use of their eyes, to observe *manners* and *morals*.

'Tis pretty visible indeed, that the original of all is in those sordid vices of sloth, lazyness, and intemperance. This makes way for ambition: for how should these be so illustriously maintained and vindicated, without large temporal power, and the umbrage of authority? hence it is, that those *mother vices* are so indulgently treated in those places; and that temperance and virtue are look'd upon with an evil eye, as *phanatically inclin'd*. For who, that is *morally free*, and has asserted his inward liberty, can see *truth* thus *held*, reason and ingenuity suppress'd, without some secret abhorrence and detestation?

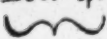
BUT this you are happily appriz'd of; nor can

you miscarry, or be turn'd aside by imposture, or assuming formality and pride of any kind. You know your liberty: use it, and be free. But use it as becomes you; with all due meekness and submission, as to outward carriage. 'Tis the inward man, that is to be reliev'd and rescu'd from his chains. Others need not your admonition: nor is this your duty; but far contrary. Preserve your self from the contagion, and 'tis enough: a great task it is; and will appear so to you; if you are hearty in it, and concern'd for *the thing it self*, not the *appearance*. For the inclination towards rebuke, and rectifying of others, which feels like zeal in us, is often the deceit of pride and self-conceit, which finds this way to screen it self, and manage undiscovered.

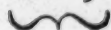
KEEP your virtue and honesty to your self: for if it be truly such, it will be in no pain for being kept secret. And thus you may be safe, and in due time, perhaps, useful also to others. Learn to discourse and reason with your self, or, as you honestly do, in letters to me. Trouble not others; nor be provok'd to shew your sentiments, and betray noble and generous truths to such, as can neither bear them, nor those, whom they suspect to be in possession of them.

MIND that, which is the chief of all, *liberty*: and subdue early your own temper and appetites. 'Twill then be time for higher speculations, when those wandering imaginations, vain conceits, and wanton thoughts of youth, are mortify'd and subdu'd. Religion then will have no enemy opposed to her; and, in spite of superstition, and all spiritual tyrannies of the world, will soon be found a joyful task, the pleasanter of all lives, quite other, than as commonly represented.

LOOK chiefly to this practice: for this is always permitted you. This you can be employ'd in every hour; even when books and privacy are de-

Let. 4. ny'd you, and business and attendance requir'd.  The more you are a servant in this sense, the more you will partake of that chief liberty, which is learnt by obedience and submission. And thus even they, who perhaps, by their haughtiness and harshness, would render you a slave, and awe you into servile thoughts, will most of all contribute to your *manumission*; if by their sad example, they teach you (in meekness still and humility) to detest the more their narrow, persecuting, and bitter spirit, supported by their vices; and shew you evidently that great truth, that *tyranny can never be exercis'd, but by one, who is already a slave.*

BE assured therefore, that where the heart disdains this *original corruption*, the mind will be its friend; and by delivering it from all spiritual bondage, will qualify it for a further progress; rewarding virtue by it self. For of VIRTUE *there can be no REWARD, but of the same kind with it self*: nothing can be superadded to it. And even heaven itself can be no other, than the addition of grace to grace, virtue to virtue, and knowledge to knowledge; by which we may still more and more comprehend the *chief VIRTUE*, and highest excellence, *the giver and dispenser of ALL*: to whom I commit you; and pray your studies may be effectual. So farewell.



LETTER V.

January 28th, 1708-9.

I WAS that morning thinking with myself what was become of you ; and almost resolv'd to have you inquired of at your father's ; when I received your very surprizing letter, which brought so good an account of your self, and a proof how well you had spent your time, during this your long silence.

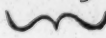
'Twas providential, surely, that I should happen once to speak to you of the *Greek* language ; when you asked concerning the *foundations of learning*, and the source and fountain of those lights we have, whether in *morality* or *divinity*. It was not possible for me to answer you deceitfully or slightly. I could not but point out to you where the spring-head lay. But as well as I can remember, I bad you not be discouraged : for by other channels, derived from those fountains, you would be sufficiently supply'd with the knowledge necessary for the solemn character, that lay before you.

You hearkened to me, it seems, with great attention and belief ; and did resolve to take no middle way. But little could I have thought, that you dar'd to have made your attempt on the other side, instead of drawing in your forces, and collecting your strength and the remainder of your precious time, for what lay on this hither side. But since God would have it so ; so be it : and I pray

Let. 5. GOD prosper you in your daring attempt, and bless you with true modesty and simplicity in all the other endeavours and practices of your life, as you have had courage and mighty boldness in this one.

AND so, indeed, it may naturally happen, by the same good providence ; since at the instant that you began this enterprize, you have fallen into such excellent reading. And if, as you shew by your letter, SIMPLICIUS's *Comment* be your delight ; even that alone is a sufficient earnest of your *soul's* improvement, as well as of your *mind's* ; if such a distinction may well be made : for alas ! all that we call improvement of our minds, in dry and empty speculation ; all learning or whatever else, either in *theology* or other science, which has not a direct tendency to render us *honest*, *milder*, *juster*, and *better*, is far from being justly so call'd. And even all that philosophy, which is built on the comparison and compounding of *ideas*, complex, implex, reflex, and all that din and noise of metaphysicks ; all that pretended study and science of nature call'd natural philosophy, *Aristotelian*, *Cartesian*, or whatever else it be ; all those high contemplations of stars and spheres and planets ; and all the other inquisitive curious parts of learning, are so far from being necessary improvements of the mind, that without the utmost care they serve only to blow it up in conceit and folly, and render men more stiff in their ignorance and vices.

AND this brings into my thoughts a small piece of true learning, which I think is generally bound up with SIMPLICIUS and EPICETUS. 'Tis the *table*, (or picture,) of CEBES the *Socratick*, and elder disciple of PLATO. This golden piece I would have you study, and have by heart ; the *Greek* too being pure and excellent. And by this picture you will better understand my hint, and

know the *true learning* from that, which falsely *Let. 5.*
 passes under the name of wisdom and science. 

As for the *divine* PLATO, I would not wish you, as yet, to go beyond a dialogue or two ; and let those be the *first* and *second* ALCIBIADES. For now I will direct and assist you all I can, that you may gradually proceed, and not meet with stumbling-blocks in your way, or what, instead of forwarding, may retard you.

READ these pieces again and again. Suspend for a while the reading of EPICTETUS : and read of MARCUS ANTONINUS only what you perfectly understand. Look into no commentator ; tho' he has two very learned ones, GATAKER, and CASAUBON : and by no means study or so much as think on any of the passages, that create any difficulty or hesitation : but, as I tell you, keep to the plain and easy passages, which you may mark or write out, and so use on occasion, as you walk or go about. For I reckon you are a good improver of your time, and that you manage every moment to advantage ; else you could never have thus suddenly advanc'd so far as you have done.

BUT, in this case, you must take care of your health, by moving and using exercise ; which makes me speak of *walking*. For the mind must suffer in some sense, when the body does. And students, who are over eager, and neglect this duty, hurt both their health and temper. The latter of which has a sad influence on their minds ; and makes them like ill vessels, for whatever is put into them, tho' of ever so good a kind. For never do we more need a just chearfulness, *good humour*, or alacrity of mind, than when we are contemplating GOD and VIRTUE. So that it may be assign'd as one cause of the austerity and harshness of some men's *divinity*, that in their habit of mind, and by that very morose and sour temper,

Let. 5. which they contract with their hard studies, they make the *idea of God* so much after the pattern of their own bitter spirit.

BUT, as I was saying concerning your progress; 'tis better for you to read in a small compass what is good and excellent, and of easy conception, (without stop or difficulty, as to the speculation) than to read *much in many*.

AND having thus confin'd you, as to *three* of your authors mentioned, and set your bounds; I proceed to the *fourth*, which is LUCIAN; with whom, for a very different reason, I would have you also read but here and there. For tho' he is one of the politest of writers of the latter age; he only has set himself out like the *jay* in the fable, with the spoils of those excellent and divine works by way of *dialogue*; (which was the way, that antiently all the philosophers wrote in;) most of which works are now lost and perished: and I fear the true reason why LUCIAN was preserved, instead of any of the other, was because of the envy of the *Christian* church, which soon began to be so corrupt; and finding this author to be so truly profane, and a scoffer of his own and all religions, they were contented to bear his immorality and dissolute style and manners, only for the satisfaction of seeing the heathen religion ridiculed by a heathen, and the good and pious writers (unjustly styl'd *prophane*) most monstrously abus'd by a wretch, who was truly the most profane and impious; and who, at the same time, even in the pieces that are left of him in the same book, treats both MOSES and our SAVIOUR, and the whole *Christian religion* as contemptibly, as he does his own. Therefore, as his dialogues of his *courtizans* are horribly vicious and licentious, and against all good manners; and as his dialogues of the *gods* are mere buffoonry, and his abuse of PLATO, SOCRATES, and the rest of those divine heathens as

unjust and wicked, as really they are mean and ridiculous; I would not by any means have you to learn *Greek* at such a cost. There are some dialogues bound up, which are not of LUCIAN's: and these are the best. One concerning the *Cynicks* (whom he elsewhere so abuses) is of that number, as I take it: and some pleasant treatises there are besides, all in pure *Greek*. Let. 5.

BUT here is the great and essential matter of the last consequence to our souls and minds, to keep them from the contagion of *pleasure*. And to shew you, that I am not by this an imitator of the severe *ascetick monastick race of divines*, or an admirer of any thing, that looks like *restraint* in knowledge, or learning, or speculation; consider of this that I am going to say to you; and carry your reflection as far back, as to that first little glimmering of ingenuity, which shew'd it self in you in your childhood; I mean the art of painting. Had you been to have made one of those artists of the nobler kind, who paint history, and actions, and nature; and had you been sent by me into ITALY, or elsewhere, to learn the stile and manner of the great masters; what advice, think you, should I have given you? I say, *what advice?* not as a *Christian*, or *philosopher*, or *man of virtue*: but merely as a lover of the art; supposing I had ever been of a very vicious life; and had had no other end in sending you abroad, than to have procur'd pictures, and have got you a masterly hand in that kind, and to have employ'd afterwards for my own use, and for the ornament of my house: most certainly my advice must have been this: (and thus any other master or patron of *common sense* would have accosted you:)

"You are now going to learn what is excellent
 "and beautiful in the way of painting. You will
 "go where there are many pictures of many dif-
 "ferent hands, and quite contrary in their *man-*

Let. 5. “ *ner* and *stile*. You will find many judges
 “ of different opinions : and the worst masters,
 “ the worst pieces, the worst styles and manners,
 “ will have their admirers. How is it you should
 “ form your *relish*? By what means shall you
 “ come to have a right admiration your self,
 “ and praise and imitate only what is truly exqui-
 “ site and good in the kind? If you follow your
 “ sudden fancy and bent; if you fix your eye
 “ on that, which most strikes and pleases you at
 “ the first sight; you will most certainly never
 “ come to have a *good eye* at all. You will be led
 “ aside, and have a florid, gay, foolish fancy;
 “ and any lewd tawdry-piece of dawbing will make
 “ a stronger impression on you, than the most ma-
 “ jestick chaste piece of the soberest master; and
 “ a FLEMISH, or a FRENCH *manner* will more
 “ prevail with you, than a true ITALIAN.

“ How shall we do then in this case? — Why
 “ even thus: (for what way is there else?) make
 “ it a solemn rule to your self, to check your own
 “ eye and fancy, which naturally leads to *gaiety*;
 “ and turn it strongly on that, which it cares
 “ not at first to dwell upon. Be sure that you
 “ pass by on every occasion, whatever little idle
 “ piece of a negligent loose kind may be apt to
 “ detain your eye; and fix your self upon the no-
 “ bler, more masterly, and studied pieces of such,
 “ as were known VIRTUOSOS, and admired by
 “ all such. If you find no grace or charm at the
 “ first looking; look on; continue to observe all,
 “ that you possibly can: and when you have got
 “ one *glimpse*: improve it; copy it; cultivate the
 “ *idea*; and labour, till you have work’d your
 “ self into a *right TASTE*, and form’d a *relish* and
 “ understanding of what is truly beautiful in the
 “ kind.”

THIS is what any ordinary master or patron of
 common good sense would have said to you, upon

your enterprize on painting: and this is what I Let. 5. now say to you, on your *great enterprize on KNOWLEDGE and LEARNING*. This is the reason I cry out to you against *pleasure*; to beware of those paths, which lead to a wrong knowledge, a wrong judgment of what is *supremely BEAUTIFUL and GOOD*.

YOUR endeavour and hope is to know GOD and goodness, in which alone there is true enjoyment and good. The way to this is not to put out your eyes, or hood-wink your self, or lie in the dark, expecting to see visions. No, you need not apologize for your self, (as you do,) for desiring to read ORIGEN, the good *father*, and best of all those they call so. You shall not only, by my consent, read ORIGEN, but even CELSUS himself, who was a *heathen*, and writ zealously against the *Christians*, whom ORIGEN defends. So far am I from bidding you fly heretical, or heathen books, where good manners, honesty, and fair reason shew themselves. But where vice, ill manners, abusive wit, and buffoonry appear; the prejudice is just: pronounce against such authors; fly them, and condemn them.

PRESERVE your self, and keep your *eye and judgment* clear. But if the eye be not open to all fair and handsome spectacles, how should you learn what is *fair and handsome*? You would praise GOD: but how would you praise him? And for what? Know you, as yet, what true excellence is? The *attributes*, as you call them, which you have learnt in your *catechism*, or in the higher schools of the school-men and divines; the attributes, I say, of JUSTICE, GOODNESS, WISDOM, and the like, are they really understood by you? Or do you talk of these by rote? if so; what is this but *giving words to GOD*, not praise, nor honour, nor glory? If the APOSTLE appeals to whatsoever is *lovely*, whatsoever is *bonest*, (or

Let. 5. comely,) whatsoever is *virtue*, or *praise-worthi-*
ness; how shall we understand his appeal, till we
 have studied? — Or do we know these things
 from our cradles? For since we were men, we
 never vouchsaf'd to enquire; but took for grant-
 ed that we were knowing in the matter: which
 yet, without philosophy, 'tis impossible we should be:
 so that when, without philosophy, we make use of
 these high terms, and praise God in these *philoso-*
phical characters; we may be very good, and pious,
 and well-meaning; but indeed we are little better
 than *parrots in devotion*.

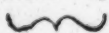
To return therefore to the *picture*, and the ad-
 vice I am to give you in your study of that great
 and masterly hand, which has drawn all things,
 and exhibited this great *master-piece of NATURE*,
 this world or universe. The first thing is, that
 you prepare and clear your *sight*; that your eye
 be *simple*, pure, uncorrupted, and ready and fit
 to receive that light, which is to shine into it.
 This is done by virtue, meekness, modesty, sincer-
 ity. And way being thus made, your resolution
 standing towards TRUTH, and you being conscious
 to your self, that whilst you seek truth, you can-
 not offend the God of truth; be not afraid of
 viewing *all* and comparing *all*. For without com-
 parison of the *false* with the *true*, of the *ugly* with
 the *beauteous*, of the *dark* and obscure with the
bright and shining, we can measure nothing, nor
 apprehend any thing that is excellent. We may
 be as well *Pagan*, *Heathen*, *Turk*, or any thing
 else; if being at CONSTANTINOPLE, ISPAHAN,
 or wherever the seat of any great empire is, we
 refuse to look on *Christian* authors, or hear their
 sober apologists, as being contrary to the history
 imposed on us, with an utter destruction and can-
 celling of all other history or philosophy whatso-
 ever.

BUT this fear being set aside, which is so whol-

ly unworthy of God, and so debasing to his standard of reason, which he has placed in us; our next concern is to look impartially into all authors, and upon all nations, and into all parts of learning and human life; to seek and find out the true *pulchrum*, the *honestum*, the *καλόν*: by which standard and measure we may know God; and know how to praise him, when we have learnt what is praise-worthy.

BE this your search, and by these means, and by this way I have shewn you. Seek for the *καλόν* in every thing, beginning as low as the plants, the fields, or even the common arts of mankind; to see what is beauteous, and what contrary. Thus, and by the original fountains you are arrived to, you will, under providence, attain beauty and true wisdom for your self; being true to virtue: and so God prosper you.

S * * * * *



LETTER VI.

February 8th, 1709.

I COMMEND your honest liberty; and therefore in the use of it, recommend to you the pursuit of the same thoughts, that you have so honestly and naturally grafted upon the stock afforded you: to which GOD grant a true life and increase.

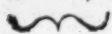
TIME will be, when your greatest disturbance will arise from that ancient difficulty *πόθεν τὸ καλόν*. But when you have well inur'd yourself to the precepts and speculation, which give the view of its noble contrary (*τὸ καλόν*;) you will rest satisfied. But be persuaded, in the mean time, that wisdom is more from the *heart*, than from the *head*. Feel goodness, and you will see all things fair and good.

LET it be your chief endeavour to make acquaintance with what is *good*; that by seeing perfectly, by the help of reason, what *good* is, and what *ill*; you may prove whether that, which is from revelation, be not perfectly good and conformable to this standard. For if so, the very end of the gospel proves its truth. And that, which to the vulgar is only knowable by miracles, and teachable by positive precepts and commands, to the wise and virtuous, is demonstrable by the nature of the thing. So that how can we forbear to give our assent to those doctrines, and that revelation, which is deliver'd to us, and enforced by

miracles and wonders ? But to us, the very test Let. 6.
 and proof of the divineness and truth of that revelation, is from the excellence of the things revealed : otherwise the wonders themselves would have little effect or power : nor could they be thorowly depended on, were we even as near to them, as those, who lived more than a thousand years since ; when they were freshly wrought, and strong in the memory of men. This is what alone can justify our easiness of faith ; and in this respect we can never be too resign'd, too willing, or too complaisant.

MEAN while let your eye be *simple* ; and turn it from the *ἀθεον* to the *θεον*. View GOD in goodness, and in his works, which have that character. Dwell with honesty, and beauty, and order : study and love what is of this kind ; and in time you will know and love the AUTHOR. Farewel.

Lct. 7.



LETTER VII.

May 5th, 1709.

I AM mightily satisfyed with your writing to me as you do: pray continue.

I LIKE your judgment and thoughts on the books you mention. The bishop of SALISBURY'S exposition of the *articles* is, no doubt, highly worthy of your study. None can better explain the sense of the church, than one, who is the greatest pillar of it since the first founders; one, who best explain'd and asserted the reformation it self; was chiefly instrumental in saving it from popery before and at the revolution; and is now the truest example of *laborious, primitive, pious, and learned episcopacy*. The antidote indeed, recommended to you, was very absurd, as you remark your self; and pray have little to do with *controversy* of any sort.

CHILLINGWORTH *against popery* is sufficient reading for you, and will teach you the best manner of that polemick divinity. 'Tis enough to read what is *good*; and what you find *bad* lay aside. The good you read will be a sufficient prevention and anticipation against any evil, that may chance come a-cross you imperceptibly. Fill your self with *good*; and you will carry within you sufficient answer to the *bad*; and by a sort of instinct soon discern the one from the other.

TRUST your own heart whilst you keep it honest, and can lift it up to the GOD of truth, as

seeking that, and *that only*. But keep your self Let. 7.
from wrangling, and a controversial spirit: for
more harm is taken by a fierce sour answer to an
ill book; than from the book it self, be it ever so
ill. Therefore remember, I charge you to avoid
controversial writers.

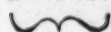
If the *antients*, in their purity, are as yet out
of your reach; search the *moderns*, that are near-
est to them. If you cannot converse with the most
antient, use the most modern. For the authors of
the middle age, and all that sort of philosophy, as
well as divinity, will be of little advantage to you.
Gain the purity of the *English*, your own tongue;
and read whatever is esteem'd polite or well writ,
that comes abroad. You may give me an account
of this.

MEAN while I am glad you read those modern
divines of our nation, who liv'd in this age, and
were remarkable for *moderation*, and the *Christian*
principle of *charity* and *toleration*.

Do as your *genius* directs you: and if you are
virtuous and good, your genius will guide you right.
But whatever it be, either antient or modern, that
you chuse or read; or however you change your
opinion or course of study; communicate, and you
shall be heard willingly, and advised the best I am
able.

I THINK your genius has dictated right to you
about a little pamphlet; which, it seems, is com-
monly sold with the reflections lately writ upon it;
which, if short, I would not for once debar you
from, but have you hear what is said in answer,
lest you shou'd seem to your self mistaken or diffi-
dent, as to the truth. For my own part, I can-
not but think from my heart, that the author of
the pamphlet (whatever air of humour he may give
himself, the better to take with the polite world,)
is most sincere to virtue and religion, and even to
the interest of our church. For many of our mo-

Let. 7. dern assertors of toleration have seemed to leave us destitute of what he calls a *publick leading*, or *ministry*; which notion he treats as mere enthusiasm, or horrid irreligion. For, in truth, religion cannot be left thus to shift for itself, without the care and countenance of the magistrate. But in the remarks, or reflections, I find the answerers are so far from understanding this plain sense of a *leading*, that they think it means only *leading by the nose*. So excellent are these gentlemen at improving ridicule against themselves. They care not who defends religion, or how it is defended, if it be not *in their way*. They cry out upon a deluge of scepticism breaking out and overwhelming us, in this witty knowing age; and yet they will allow no remedy proper in the case, no application to the world in a more genteel, polite, open, and free way. They for their parts (witness Dr. A——y against the good Mr. H——y) have asserted virtue upon baser principles, and more false and destructive by far, than EPICURUS, DEMOCRITUS, ARISTIPPUS, or any of the ancient atheists. They have subverted all morality, all grounds of honesty, and supplanted the whole doctrine of our SAVIOUR, under pretence of magnifying his revelation. In philosophy they give up all foundations, all principles of society, and the very best arguments to prove the being of a *Deity*. And, by the way, this pamphlet, which they are so offended at, is so strong on this head, that the author asserts the *Deity* even on the foundations of his *innate idea*, and the power of this notion even over atheists themselves, and by the very concession of EPICURUS and that sect. — But no more now. Continue to inform me of your reading and of new books: and GOD be with you.



L E T T E R VIII.

June 3d, 1709.

I RECEIVED your's since your recovery, which I am glad to hear of. The new book you have discovered, and the account of it gave me great satisfaction. Your conjectures of it perhaps are not amiss. Dr. TINDAL's principles, whatever they may be as to church government, are, in respect of philosophy and theology, far wide from the author's of the rhapsody.

IN general truly it has happened, that all those they call *free writers* now-a-days, have espoused those principles, which Mr. HOBBS set a foot in this last age. Mr. LOCKE, as much as I honour him on account of other writings (*viz.* on government, policy, trade, coin, education, toleration, &c.) and as well as I knew him, and can answer for his sincerity as a most zealous *Christian* and believer, did however go in the self same track, and is follow'd by the TINDALS, and all the other ingenious free authors of our time.

'Twas Mr. LOCKE, that struck the home blow: for Mr. HOBBS's character and base slavish principles in government took off the poison of his philosophy. 'Twas Mr. LOCKE that struck at all fundamentals, threw all *order* and *virtue* out of the world, and made the very *ideas* of these (which are the same as those of God) *unnatural*, and without foundation in our minds. *Innate* is

Let. 8. a word he poorly plays upon: the right word, tho' less used, is *connatural*. For what has *birth* or *progress* of the *fœtus* out of the womb to do in this case? the question is not about the *time* the ideas enter'd, or the *moment* that one body came out of the other; but whether the constitution of man be such, that being adult and grown up, at such or such a time, sooner or later (no matter when) the idea and sense of *order*, *administration*, and a *God* will not infallibly, inevitably, necessarily spring up in him.

THEN comes the credulous Mr. LOCKE, with his *Indian*, barbarian stories of wild nations, that have no such idea, (as travellers, learned authors! and men of truth! and great philosophers! have inform'd him;) not considering, that this is but a *negative* upon a *hearsay*, and so circumstantiated, that the faith of the *Indian* denier may be as well question'd, as the veracity or judgment of the relater; who cannot be supposed to know sufficiently the mysteries and secrets of those barbarians; whose language they but imperfectly know; and to whom we good *Christians* have by our little mercy given sufficient reason to conceal many secrets from us; as we know particularly in respect of simples and vegetables: of which tho' we got the *Peruvian* bark, and some other noble remedies; yet 'tis certain, that through the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, as they have own'd themselves, many secrets in medicinal affairs have been suppress'd.

BUT Mr. LOCKE, who had more faith, and was more learn'd in modern *wonder-writers*, than in ancient philosophy, gave up an argument for the *Deity*, which CICERO (tho' a profess'd *Sceptick*) would not explode; and which even the chief of the atheistical philosophers anciently acknowledged, and solv'd only by their *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*.

THUS virtue, according to Mr. LOCKE, has

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no other measure, law, or rule, than *fashion* and *Let. 8.*
custom: morality, justice, equity, depend only on
law and *will*: and God indeed is a perfect *free*
agent in his sense; that is, *free to any thing, that*
is however ill: for if he wills it, it will be made
 good; virtue may be vice, and vice virtue in its
 turn, if he pleases. And thus neither *right* nor
wrong, *virtue* nor *vice* are any thing in themselves;
 nor is there any trace or idea of them *naturally*
imprinted on human minds. Experience and our
 catechism teach us all! I suppose 'tis something
 of like kind, which teaches birds their nests, and
 how to fly the minute they have full feathers.
 Your THEOCLES, whom you commend so much,
 laughs at this; and, as modestly as he can, asks a
Lockist, whether the idea of *woman* (and what
 is sought after in woman,) be not taught also by
 some catechism, and dictated to the man. Per-
 haps if we had no *schools of Venus*, nor such hor-
 rid lewd books, or lewd companions; we might
 have no understanding of this, till we were taught
 by our parents: and if the tradition should happen
 to be lost; the race of mankind might perish in a
 sober nation. — This is very poor philosophy.
 But the gibberish of the schools, for these several
 centuries, has, in those latter days of liberty,
 made any contrary philosophy of good relish, and
 highly favourable with all men of wit; such as have
 been emancipated from that egregious form of in-
 tellectual bondage. But I see you are on a better
 scent. —

I CAN say no more at present: only I would not
 have you inquire further, as yet, after that book,
 entitled, an *inquiry*: because it was an imperfect
 thing, brought into the world many years since,
 contrary to the author's design, in his absence be-
 yond sea, and in a disguis'd disorder'd style. It
 may one day perhaps be set righter; since other
 things have made it to be inquired after. Have

Let. 8. patience in the mean while, and continue your studies. Dispute with no body on any subject. Keep your remarks to your self; and cultivate the good maxims and principles you have received. Be humble in all your manners, gesture, and behaviour: for that chiefly suits with the character designed. God guide you in all true piety, moderation, and virtue. Farewel.

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LETTER IX.

December 30. 1709.

I HEARTILY approv'd your method and design, and continue to do so. Get what you can of the *Greek* language: 'tis the fountain of all; not only of polite learning and philosophy, but of divinity also, as being the language of our *sacred oracles*. For even the old testament is in its best and truest language in the *Septuagint*. All that you can get of leisure from other exercise and the required school-learning, apply to *Greek*.

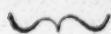
THE few good books of our divines and *moralists*, which you have discovered by your own sagacity, will serve you both for language and thought.

DR. MORE's *Enchiridion ethicum*, is a right good piece of sound morals; tho' the doctor himself, in other *English* pieces, could not abide by it; but made different excursions into other regions, and was perhaps as great an enthusiast, as any of those, whom he wrote against. However, he was a learned and a good man.

REMEMBER my former cautions and recommendations: and endeavour above all things to avoid the conceit and pride, which is almost naturally inherent to the function and calling you are about to undertake. And since we think fit to call it *priesthood*, see that it be of such a kind, as may not make you say or think of your self in the presence of another, *that you are holier than he*. 'Tis a

Let. 9. *solemn* part ; but see and beware, that the *solemnity* do not abuse you. And remember, that He, whom you own to be your *master* and legislator, made no laws relating to civil power, or interfering with it. So that all the preheminance, wealth, or pension, which you receive, or expect to receive, by help of this assum'd character, is from the publick, whence both the authority and profit is deriv'd ; and on which it legally depends ; all other pretensions of *priests* being Jewish and Heathenish, and in our state seditious, disloyal, and factious ; such as is that spirit, which now reigns in our universities, and where the high-church-men (as they are call'd) are prevalent. But to this (thank GOD) our parliament, interposing at this instant, gives a check, by proceeding against Dr. S——L, and advancing Mr. H——Y, of whom I have often spoken to you.

No more now, but GOD bless your studies and endeavours. Never was more need of a spirit of *moderation* and *Christianity* among those, who are entering on the ministerial function ; since the contrary spirit has possess'd almost the whole priesthood, beyond all former phanaticks: GOD send you all true *Christianity*, with that temper, life, and manners, which become it. Farewel.



L E T T E R X.

July 10th, 1710.

I BELIEV'D indeed, it was your expecting me every day at ****, that prevented your writing, since you received *orders* from the good bishop, my lord of SALISBURY; who as he has done more, than any man living, for the good and honour of the church of ENGLAND and the reform'd religion; so he now suffers more than any man from the tongues and slander of those ungrateful *church-men*; who may well call themselves by that single term of distinction, having no claim to that of *Christianity* or *Protestant*; since they have thrown off all the temper of the former, and all concern or interest with the latter.

I HOPE whatever advice the great and good bishop gave you, will sink deeply into your mind: and that your receiving *orders* from the hands of so worthy a prelate will be one of the circumstances, which may help to insure your steddiness in honesty, good principles, moderation, and true *Christianity*; which are now set at nought, and at defiance, by the far greater part and numbers of that body of clergy call'd *the church of ENGLAND*; who no more esteem themselves a protestant church, or in union with those of protestant communion; tho' they pretend to the name of *Christian*, and would have us judge of the *spirit of Christianity* from *theirs*: which God prevent! lest

Let. 10. good men should in time forsake *Christianity* thro' their means.

As for my part of kindness and friendship to you ; I shall be sufficiently recompensed, if you prove (as you have ever promis'd) a virtuous, pious, sober, and studious man, as becomes the solemn charge belonging to you. But you have been brought into the world, and come into *orders*, in the worst time for insolence, riot, pride, and presumption of clergy-men, that I ever knew, or have read of; tho' I have searched far into the characters of high-church-men from the first centuries, in which they grew to be dignify'd with crowns and purple, to the late times of our reformation, and to our present age.

THE thorough knowledge you have had of me, and the direction of all my studies and life to the promotion of religion, virtue, and the good of mankind, will (I hope) be of some good example to you : at least it will be a hindrance to your being seduc'd by *infamies* and *calumnies* ; such as are thrown upon the men called *moderate*, and in their style indifferent in religion, heterodox, and heretical.

I PRAY GOD to bless you in your new function with all the true virtue, humility, moderation, and meekness, which becomes it. I am your hearty friend.

S * * * * *

LETTERS

FROM THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LATE

Earl of *SHAFTESBURY*,

TO

ROBERT MOLESWORTH, Esq;

Afterwards the Lord Viscount of that name.

WITH

TWO LETTERS written by the late

Sir JOHN CROPLEY.

Printed in the YEAR, M. DCC. LVIII.

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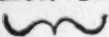
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L E T T E R I.

*Chelfey, Sept. 30. 1708.**Dear S I R,*

TWO reasons have made me delay answering yours: I was in hopes of seeing our great lord, and I depended on Mr. MICKLETHWAYT's presenting you with my services, and informing you of all matters publick and private. The queen is but just come to *Kensington*, and my * lord to town. He promis'd to send me word, and appoint me a time, when he came. But I shou'd have prevented him, had it been my weather for town-visits. But having ow'd the recovery of my health, to the method I have taken of avoiding the town-smoke; I am kept at a distance, and like to be remov'd even from hence in a little while: tho' I have a project of staying longer here than my usual time, by removing now and then cross the water, to my friend Sir JOHN CROPLEY's in *Surrey*, where my riding and airing recruits me. I am highly rejoic'd, as you may believe, that I can find my self able to do a little more publick service, than what of late years I have been confin'd to, in my country: and I own the

* The earl of *Godolphin*, then lord treasurer.

Let. 1.  circumstances of a court were never so inviting to me, as they have been since a late view I have had of the best part of our ministry. It may perhaps have added more of confidence and forwardness in my way of courtship, to be so incapacitated as I am from taking any thing there for my self. But I hope I may convince some persons, that it is possible to serve disinterestedly ; and that obligations already receiv'd (tho' on the account of others) are able to bind as strongly, as the ties of self-interest.

I HAD resolv'd to stay, till I had one conference more with our * lord before I writ to you : but a letter, which I have this moment receiv'd from Mr. MICKLETHWAYT, on his having waited on you in the country, has made me resolve to write thus hastily (without missing to-night's post) to acknowledge, in the friendliest and free'st manner, the kind and friendly part you have taken in my private interests. If I have ever endur'd any thing for the publick, or sacrific'd any of my youth, or pleasures, or interests to it, I find it is made up to me in the good opinion of some few : and perhaps one such friendship as yours, may counter-balance all the malice of my worst enemies. 'Tis true, what I once told you I had determin'd with my self, never to think of the continuance of a family, or altering the condition of life that was most agreeable to me, whilst I had (as I thought) a just excuse : but that of late I had yielded to my friends, and allow'd 'em to dispose of me, if they thought that by this means, I cou'd add any thing to the power or interest I had, to serve them or my country. I was afraid however, that I shou'd be so heavy and unactive in this affair, that my friends wou'd hardly take me to be in earnest. But tho' it be so lately, that I have taken my resolution,

* The same.

and that you were one of the first who knew it ; Let. 1.

I have on a sudden such an affair thrown a-cross me, that I am confident I have zeal enough rais'd in me, to hinder you from doubting whether I sincerely intend what I profess. There is a lady, whom chance has thrown into my neighbourhood, and whom I never saw till the *Sunday* before last, who is in every respect that very person, I had ever fram'd a picture of from my imagination, when I wish'd the best for my own happiness in such a circumstance. I had heard her character before, and her education, and every circumstance besides suited exactly, all but her fortune. Had she but a ten thousand pounds, my modesty wou'd allow me to apply without reserve, where it was proper. And I wou'd it were in my power, without injury to the lady, to have her upon those terms, or lower. I flatter my self too by all appearance, that the father has long had, and yet retains, some regard for me ; and that the disappointments he has had in some higher friendships, may make him look as low as on me, and imagine me not wholly unworthy of his relation. But, if by any interest I had, or cou'd possibly make with the father, I shou'd induce him to bestow his daughter, perhaps with much less fortune (since I wou'd gladly accept her so) than what in other places he wou'd have bestow'd, I shall draw a double misfortune on the lady ; unless she has goodness enough to think, that one who seeks her for what he counts better than a fortune, may possibly by his worth or virtue make her sufficient amends. And were I but encourag'd to hope or fancy this, I wou'd begin my offers to-morrow ; and shou'd have greater hopes, that my disinterestedness wou'd be of some service to me in this place, as matters stand.

You see my scruple, and being us'd to me, and knowing my odd temper (for I well know you believe it no affectation) you may be able to relieve

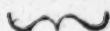
Let. 1. me, and have the means in your hands : for a few words with one, who has the honour to be your relation, wou'd resolve me in this affair. I cannot stir in it till then, and shou'd be more afraid of my good fortune than my bad, if it shou'd happen to me to prevail with a father, for whom the lady has so true a duty ; that, even *against her inclination*, she wou'd comply with any thing he requir'd. I am afraid it will be impossible for you to read, or make sense of, what I write thus hastily : but I fancy with my self, I make you the greater confidence, in trusting to my humour and first thought, without staying till I have so much as form'd a reflection. I am sure there is hardly any one besides you, I shou'd lay my self thus open to : but I am secure in your friendship, which I rely on (for advice) in this affair. I beg to hear from you in answer by the first post, being with great sincerity,

Your faithful friend

and humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

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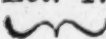
LETTER II.

Beachworth in Surrey, Oct. 12. 1708.

Dear SIR,

FROM the hour I had writ you that hasty letter from *Chelfey*, I was in pain till I had heard from you; and cou'd not but often with, I had not writ in that hurry and confusion. But since I have receiv'd yours in answer, I have all the satisfaction imaginable. I see so sincere a return of friendship, that it cannot any more concern me to have laid my self so open.

I wou'd have a friend see me at the worst: and 'tis a satisfaction to find, that if one's failures or weakneses were greater than really they are, one shou'd still be cherish'd, and be supply'd even with good sentiments and discretion, when they were wanting. One thing only I beg you wou'd take notice of, that I had never any thoughts of applying to the young lady, before I apply'd to the father. My morals are a little too strict to let me have taken such an advantage, had it been ever so fairly offer'd. But my drift was, to learn whether there had been an inclination to any one before me: for many offers had been, and some I know very great, within these few months. And tho' the duty of the daughter might have acquiesc'd in the dislike of the father, so as not to shew any discon-

Let. 2.  tent; yet there might be something of this lying at the heart, and so strongly, that my application and success (if I had any) might be look'd on with an ill eye, and cause a real trouble. This would have caus'd it, I am sure, in me; when I shou'd have come, perhaps too late, to have discover'd it. But there is nothing of this in the case, by all that I can judge or learn. Never did I hear of a creature so perfectly resign'd to duty, so innocent in herself, and so contented under those means, which have kept and still keep her so innocent, as to the vanities and vices of the world; tho' with real good parts, and improvement of 'em at home: for of this my lord has wisely and handsomely taken care. Never was any thing so unfortunate for me, as that she should be such a fortune: for that I know is what every body will like, and I perhaps have the worst relish of, and least deserve. The other qualities I shou'd prize more than any, and the generality of mankind, instead of prizing, would be apt to condemn: for want of air, and humour, and the wit of general conversation, and the knowledge of the town, and fashions, and diversions, are unpardonable dullnesses in young wives; who are taken more as companions of pleasure, and to be shown abroad as beauties in the world than to raise families, and support the honour and interest of those they are join'd to.

BUT to show you that I am not wanting to myself, since your encouraging and advising letter, I have begun my application, by what you well call * *the right end*. You shall hear with what success, as soon as I know my self. I cou'd both be bolder and abler in the management of the affair, and cou'd promise my self sure success, had I but a constitution that wou'd let me act for my self; and bustle in and about that town, which by this win-

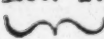
* The father.

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ter-season coming on so fiercely, is by this time in such a cloud of smoke, that I can neither be in it, nor near it. I stay'd but a day or two too long at *Chelsey*, after the setting in of these east and north-east winds, and I had like to have fallen into one of my short breathing fits, which would have ruin'd me. But by flying hither and keeping my distance, I keep my health: but (I may well fear) shall lose my mistress. For who ever courted at this rate? Did matters ly so as to the fortune, that I cou'd be the obliging side, it might go on with tolerable grace: and so I fear it must be, whenever I marry, or else am like to remain a bachelor.

HOWEVER, you can never any more arraign my morals after this. You can never charge me, as you have done, for a remissness, and laziness, or an indulgence to my own ways, and love of retirement; which (as you thought) might have made me averse to undertake the part of wife and children, tho' my country or friends ever so much requir'd it of me. You see it will not be my fault: and you shall find I will not act booty for my self. If I have any kind of success at this *right end*, I will then beg to use the favour of your interest in your cousin, as I shall then mention to you: but instead of setting me off for other things, I wou'd most earnestly beg that you wou'd speak only of your long and thorough knowledge of me, and (if you think it true) of my good temper, honesty, love of my relations and country, sobriety, and virtue. For these I hope I may stand to, as far as I am possess'd of 'em. They will not, I hope, grow worse as I grow older. For tho' I can promise little of my *regimen*, by which I hold my health; I am persuaded to think no vices will grow upon me, as I manage my self: for in this I have been ever sincere, to make my self as good as I was able, and to live for no other end.

I AM ashamed to have writ such a long letter, a-

Let. 2. bout my self, as if I had no concern for the publick: tho' I may truly say to you; if I had not the publick in view, I shou'd hardly have these thoughts of changing my condition at this time of day, that I can better indulge my self in the case of a single and private life. The weather, which is so unfortunate for me by these settled east winds, keeps the country dry; and if they are the same (as is likely) in *Flanders*, I hope e'er this *Lisle* is ours, which has cost us so dear, and held us in such terrible anxiety.

I HAVE been to see lord treasurer that little while he was in town, but cou'd not find him.

PRAY let me hear in your next, what time you think of coming * up. I shall be glad to hear soon from you again, wishing you delight and good success in your country affairs, and all happiness and prosperity to your family. I remain,

Dear SIR,

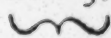
Your obliged friend and

faithful humble servant,

*Sir John Cropley, with whom
I am here, presents his humble
service to you.*

SHAFTESBURY.

* From *Eddington*, a seat the lord MOLESWORTH has in *Yorkshire*.



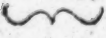
L E T T E R III.

Dear SIR,

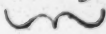
Beachworth in Surrey, Oct. 23. 1708.

YOU guess'd right as to the winds, which are still easterly, and keep me here in winter-quarters, from all publick and private affairs. I have neither seen lord treasurer, nor been at *Chelsey* * to prosecute my own affair: tho' as for this latter, as great as my zeal is, I am forc'd to stand. I was before-hand told, that as to the lord, he was in some measure engag'd; and the return I had from him, on my application, seem'd to imply as much. On the other side, I have had reason to hope, that the lady, who had before bemoan'd her self for being destin'd to greatness without virtue, had yet her choice to make; and, after her escapes, sought for nothing so much, as sobriety and a strict virtuous character. How much more still this adds to my zeal, you may believe: and by all hands I have receiv'd the highest character of your relation, who seems to have inspir'd her with these and other good sentiments, so rare in her sex and degree. My misfortune is, I have no friend in the world by whom I can in the least engage, or have access to your relation, but only by your self: and I have no hopes of seeing you soon, or of your

* He had a pretty retreat at *Little Chelsey*, which he fitted up according to his own fancy.

Let. 3.  having any opportunity to speak of me to her. If a letter cou'd be proper, I shou'd fancy it more so at this time than any other : provided you wou'd found it on the common report which is abroad, of my being in treaty for that lady. This might give you an occasion of speaking of me as to that part, which few besides can know so well, I mean *my heart* : which, if she be such as really all people allow, will not displease her to hear so well of, as, perhaps in friendship and from old acquaintance, you may represent. If the person talk'd of be really my rival, and in favour with the father, I must own my case is next to desperate ; not only because I truly think him, as the world goes, likely enough to make a good (at least a civil) husband ; but because as my aim is not fortune, and his is, he being an old friend too, I shou'd unwillingly stand between him and an estate ; which his liberality has hitherto hinder'd him from gaining, as great as his advantages have been hitherto in the government. By what I have said, I believe you may guess who * my suppos'd rival is : or if you want a farther hint, 'tis one of the chief of the *Junto*, an old friend of yours and mine, whom we long sat with in the house of commons (not often voted with) but who was afterwards taken up to a higher house ; and is as much noted for wit, and gallantry, and magnificence, as for his eloquence and courtier's character. But whether this be so suited to this meek good lady's happiness, I know not. Fear of partiality and self-love makes me not dare determine ; but rather mistrust my self, and turn the balance against me. Pray keep this secret, for I got it by chance : and if there be any thing in it, 'tis a great secret between the two lords themselves. But sometimes I fancy it is a nail, which will hardly go : tho' I am pretty certain, it

* Charles Montague, late earl of Halifax.

has been aim'd at by this old acquaintance of ours, Let. 3. ever since a disappointment happen'd from a  great lord beyond sea, who was to have had the lady.

NOTHING but the sincere friendship you show for me, cou'd make me to continue thus to impart my privatest affairs: and in reality, tho' they seem wholly private and selfish, I will not be ashamed to own the honesty of my heart to you; in professing that the publick has much the greatest part in all this bustle, I am ingaging in. You have lately made me believe, and even prov'd too by experience, that I had some interest in the world; and there, where I least dream't of it, with great men in power. I had always something of an interest in my country, and with the plain honest people: and sometimes I have experienced both here at home, and abroad, where I have long liv'd, and made acquaintance (in *Holland* especially) that with a plain character of honesty and disinterestedness, I have on some occasions, and in dangerous urgent times of the publick, been able to do some good. If the increase of my fortune be the least motive in this affair before me (as sincerely I do not find) I will venture to say, it can only be in respect of the increase of my interest, which I may have in my country, in order to serve it.

ONE who has little notion of magnificence, and less of pleasure and luxury, has not that need of riches which others have. And one who prefers tranquillity, and a little study, and a few friends, to all other advantages of life, and all the flatteries of ambition and fame, is not like to be naturally so very fond of ingaging in the circumstances of marriage, I do not go swimmingly to it, I assure you: nor is the great fortune a great bait. Sorry I am, that no body with a less fortune, or more daughters, has had the wit to order such an education. A very moderate fortune had serv'd my

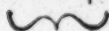
Let. 3. turn; or perhaps quality alone, to have a little justify'd me, and kept me in countenance, had I chose so humbly. But now that which is rich oar, and wou'd have been the most estimable had it been bestow'd on me, will be mere dross, and flung away on others; who will pity and despise those very advantages, which I prize so much. But this is one of the common places of exclamation, against the distribution of things in this world: and, upon my word, whoever brought up the proverb, 'tis no advantageous one for a providence to say, *matches are made in heaven*. I believe rather in favour of providence; that there is nothing which is so merely fortune, and more committed to the power of blind chance. So I must be contented, and repine the less at my lot, if I am disappointed in such an affair. If I satisfy my friends that I am not wanting to my self, 'tis sufficient. I am sure you know it, by the sound experience of all this trouble I have given, and am still like to give you. Tho' I confess my self, yet even in this too I do but answer friendship, as being so sincerely and affectionately

Your most faithful friend

and humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

* T
written



L E T T E R IV.

Dear S I R, *Beachworth, Nov. 4. 1708.*

I WAS at *Chelsey* when I receiv'd yours with the inclos'd, and was so busy'd in the employment you had given me, by your encouragement and kind assistance in a certain affair, that I have let pass two posts without returning you thanks, for the greatest marks of your friendship, that any one can possibly receive. Indeed I might well be ashamed to receive 'em in one sense; since the * character you have given of me, is so far beyond what I dare think suitable: tho' in these cases, one may better perhaps give way to vanity than in any other. But tho' friendship has made you over favourable, there is one truth however, which your letter plainly carries with it, and must do me service. It shows that I have a real and passionate friend in you: and to have deserv'd such a friendship, must be believ'd some sort of merit. I don't say this as aiming at a fine speech: but in reality, where one sees so little friendship, and of so short continuance, as commonly in mankind; it must be, one wou'd think, even in the sexes eye, a pledge

* This relates to a letter the lord *Melfworth* had written in his favour.

Let. 4. of constancy, fidelity, and other merit, to have been able to engage and preserve so lasting and firm a friendship with a man of worth. So that you see, I can find a way to reconcile my self to all you have said in favour of me, allowing it to have been spoken in passion; and in this respect the more engaging with the sex; who are as good or better judges than we our selves, of the sincerity of affection.

BUT in the midst of my courtship came an east-wind, and with the town-smoke did my business, or at least wou'd have done it effectually, had I not fled hither with what breath I had left. Indeed I cou'd have almost laugh'd at my own misfortune: there is something so odd in my fortune and constitution. You may think me melancholy, if you will. I own there was a time in publick affairs when I really was: for, saving your self, and perhaps one or two more (I speak the most) I had none that acted with me, against the injustice and corruption of both parties: each of them inflam'd against me, particularly one, because of my birth and principles; the other, because of my pretended apostacy, which was only adhering to those principles on which their party was founded. There have been apostates indeed since that time. But the days are long since past, that you and I were treated as * *Jacobites*. What to say for some companions of ours, as they are now † chang'd, I

* The truly apostate *whigs*, who became servile and arbitrary to please court empirics, branded all those as *Jacobites*, who adher'd to those very principles, that occasion'd and justify'd the revolution.

† Here he means some who voted with him in his favourite bills, and who were originally *whigs*; but out of pique and disappointment, became if not real *Jac-*

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know not : but as to my own particular, I assure you, that since those sad days of the publick, which might have help'd on perhaps with that melancholy or spleen which you fear in me, and for certain have help'd me to this ill state of health : I am now however, as free as possible; and even in respect to my health too, excepting only the air of *London*, I am, humanly speaking, very passable : but gallantly speaking, and as a courtier of the fair sex, God knows I may be very far from passing. And I have that sort of stubbornness and wilfulness (if that be spleen) that I cannot bear to set a better face on the matter, than it deserves ; so I am like to be an ill courtier, for the same reason that I am an ill jockey. It is impossible for me, to conceal my horse's imperfections or my own, where I mean to dispose of either. I think it unfair : so that cou'd any quack, by a peculiar medicine, set me up for a month or two, enough to go through with my courtship ; I wou'd not accept his offer, unless I cou'd miraculously *be made whole*. Now for a country health and a town neighbourhood, I am sound and well : but for a town life, whether it be for business or diversion, 'tis out of my compass.

I SAY all this ; that you may know my true state, and how desperate a man you serve, and in how desperate a case. Shou'd any thing come of it, the friendship will appear the greater : or if nothing, the friendship will appear the same still, as to me my self. Your letter was deliver'd : I hope you will hear soon in answer to it. The old lord continues wonderful kind to me, and I hear has lately spoken of me so to others. Our publick affairs at home will be much chang'd, by the late death

bites (which was scarce possible) yet in effect as bad, by promoting all the designs peculiar to that desperate party.

L^{et.} 4. of the * prince. But I have been able to see no
 body: so won't attempt to write, and will end here
 with the assurance of my being,

Dear S I R,

Your most obliged and

faithful friend and servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

* The prince of Denmark.



LETTER V.

Dear SIR,

Chelfey, Nov. 20. 1708.

I CAME hither from *Surrey* but yesterday, and found your second letter; which if I had not receiv'd, I shou'd however not have fail'd writing this post about our changes talk'd of, which I hope will be to the publick advantage. As to the admiralty, and the consequences of keeping it in the administration, it had lain under during the prince's time, you knew my mind fully, as well as my opinion of this present lord, who, I hope, may with certainty be called *lord high admiral*. 'Tis lord PEMBROKE I mean, who with great reluctance at last accepts it, I believe: tho' he plainly said (as I have been inform'd) that he was inserted only to serve a turn, and that another great lord (the favorite of our whig-party) was at the bottom intended, and wou'd in some time succeed him. But I really believe things stand on a better bottom: and, that as strictly as the lord SOMERS is bound to the party of friends with whom he is, he has yet that wisdom, and with all that regard to his country's interest, especially under a ministry of which he is like to have so great a share; that however the low *whigs*, may murmur, he will be glad to see the naval affairs, in the hands of so

L^{et.} 5. universally belov'd a man, so honourable and un-
 corrupt as lord PEMBROKE.

By this you will find I take for granted, that lord SOMERS comes into the place talk'd of for him of *president of the council*; and believe it is true that he has kiss'd the queen's hand, tho' not directly as a minister receiv'd. But pretty near it you may believe: since at this time of mourning (and so sincere a mourner as the queen is) she hardly wou'd see a stranger, and which is more, a man so estrang'd from her, and so wholly off from the court as lord SOMERS has been, and whom I scarce believe she has admitted at any time to kiss her hand; he having been for certain the prince's aversion, as you may judge by those, who chiefly influenc'd the prince, and were the violentest enemies lord SOMERS had. I must confess I ever wish'd well to this correspondence, there now is between lord SOMERS and * our lord; but can pretend to have had no share in effecting it. With all the other lords of the *junto*, I have maintain'd only a very cool and distant acquaintance: but I have ever distinguish'd lord SOMERS, and believe so well both of our lord and him, that the union between them is upon a handsomer and better bottom, than that of giving up their particular friends on either side; and even lord PEMBROKE, (a *tory*) on whom all this turns, is a proof, I think, that this change is not wholly a party matter.

LORD WHARTON indeed is true steel: but as little partiality as I have for him, and as ill an opinion of his private life and principles, I fancy his good understanding will make him show himself a better lord lieutenant, than is expected. More changes I know not of: nor do I believe many are to be expected.

* The lord treasurer.

L E T T E R S.

. 109

FORGIVE this hasty sheet I here inclose to you. Let. 6.
'Tis late, and I shall miss this night's post sending
hence to town: so add only my constant and sincere
profession of being,

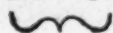
Dear S I R,

Your obliged friend and

faithful humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

Let. 6.



LETTER VI.

Dear SIR, *Beachworth*, Nov. 25. 1708.

I SHOULD be very sorry if you miss'd mine, of last post but one, from *Chelfey*, in which I writ you my whole thoughts of the changes.

THE parliament has now sat, and for the first trying question we have lost the *ballot*, tho' but by nine. Our friends stuck fast. But kindness to this ministry, which the best men are willing to favour, made the struggle not so great as might be. Sir PETER KING, our friend, spoke worthily for it. Sir JOSEPH JEKYL, and all those did as before, and went on our side. The late speakers beset the new * one; and he will have I fear a hard task, if this be not an easy sessions, as our great news and glorious success abroad is like to make it.

As for myself and private affairs (with which I did not trouble you in my last long one) you may judge by the place where I am, that they go not on very smartly. Making court any where, or in any sense, I find is not among my talents, if I have any. I have done more in this affair, than I thought it possible for me to have done, having so great an opinion (as I still have) of the lady. But it is hard, even for us men, to know our selves: harder for women, however wise. She may like a younger man and a sprightlier, far bet-

* Sir Richard Onslow, since created lord Onslow.

LETTERS.

III

ter perhaps than such a one as I am. But I believe such a one will not so like or value her as I do; or in the main make her so happy, so vain I am. But whatever my thoughts are of my self, I am not us'd to set my self off for my interest-sake, and make the best of what I have. Health I have not in the highest degree. Be it spleen, or real infirmity, 'tis the same misfortune to a lady. Cou'd I make a show of health with safety, and pursue the lady, where I might have opportunity to win her liking by this means, and appearing better without doors than I am within at ordinary hours; I wou'd not do this, whatever depend on it. But as the season is, and the severe north-east winds, and town-smoke, I am driven from my quarters at *Chelsey*; and think not that I shall be able to return there, till the strength of the winter is over: so will take the first fair weather, to go to my winter quarters at * *St. Giles's*. A thousand thanks to you for your kind concern in an affair, which I have taken so much to heart. Your writing again in answer, as you did the first post, was mighty right, to me extremely obliging. If I see the least glimmering of hope, you shall be sure to know. I have given order at *Chelsey* about the vines: adieu, dear Sir. I am

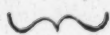
Most faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

Sir JOHN and Mr. MICKLETHWAYT (who are both here at this instant, rejoicing with me on the good news from abroad) desire very earnestly to have their humble services presented to you.

* His paternal seat in *Dorsetshire*, which he us'd highly to commend; and indeed I have heard it as much admir'd by others.

Let. 7.



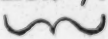
LETTER VII.

Dear SIR, Beachworth, Jan. 6. 1708-9.

HAD I not by accident heard long since, that you were on the road to town, you may be sure I shou'd be employing the leisure time I have here, in writing to you: especially after such long and friendly letters, as I have lately receiv'd from you on publick and private subjects; and in which you are so favourable to me, as to lay a stress upon my judgment and opinion in the affairs of my country: which of late years I have been forc'd to look on at a distance, without any thing that can be call'd * a share in 'em my self, I must own, I began of late to flatter my self, with a way of service I little dreamt of, and which I never thought my self capable of or qualify'd for † hereafter. I never thought I shou'd see any of the great men at court so inclinable to publick good, as to regard or hearken to a man, who had chiefly that at heart: and, to say truth of my self, I always thought I had a stubbornness of nature, which wou'd hinder me from making a right advantage of good ministers, whenever we shou'd come to have any such. But the being taken down very early in my life,

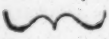
* By reason of his asthma.

† Giving advice to those at the helm, of which no man was more capable, both in respect of ability and integrity.

from those high imaginations I had, and those hopes Let. 7.
of doing service in the plain way of business and 
parliaments, the mortification wrought so far in
my advantage, that I became milder and more
tractable: and in this condition you found me,
when you laid hold of an opportunity, and with a
most particular mark of friendship, recommended
me to a † great man, and brought me under obli-
gation to him. The little time I have had since
with him, I employ'd the best I cou'd, in such ad-
vices and such offer of service as became me. Nor
do I think I have been any way unfortunate, in
giving the least offence; or raising that frightful
idea, which courtiers are apt to have of patriots
and men of rigid virtue. I flatter my self egre-
giously, or I am well in his opinion, and have lost
no ground. But if it be so, and as I faithfully be-
lieve: I will be sworn, there never was a more
disinterest'd man in his station: for if I may judge
by myself, he leaves it to his friends and those he
has oblig'd, to be grateful, and to act for him as
they fancy, and as their heart prompts 'em; but
for his part, he lays no burdens, nor requires any
service in return.

BUT this however ought not to lessen the zeal
and earnest endeavour of one who is oblig'd, and
in a truly honest man it must increase it; and this,
for his own sake, I wish he may be wise enough to
know: for I had rather such goodness of his shou'd
come from reflection, than mere natural temper
and generosity; for he that can see so deep into
hearts, and comprehend the mystery of honesty
(a real mystery in most courts) will never want any
of those generous inclinations which make a wor-
thy character. But the misfortune is, we honest
men, (if I may speak thus presumptuously of my
self) are a little mysterious our selves. There is

† The lord treasurer.

Let. 7. a cloud over us, which is hard to be clear'd up.  The rugged paths we walk through, give us a rugged pace; and the idle supine illiterate creatures of a court-education, have a thousand advantages above us: and can easier borrow from our character than we from theirs; tho' of right there shou'd be nothing fair or handsome, in which we shou'd come behind 'em. And it ought to be a shame, that a mere courtier shou'd, for his interest-sake, be more assiduous and better behav'd in every respect; than the man, who makes court for his country, and tries to profit of the good disposition of great men in power. Our friend *Horace* found the difficulty and weight of this, in the case of an honest man, who lov'd his great* friend, but scorn'd to be a slave,

† *Scurrantis speciem præbere, professus amicum;*

And therefore (with a sigh, to be sure) he says,

‡ *Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici,
Expertus metuit* —————

BUT we have a better cause than *Horace*, or his friend *Lollius*, whom he writes to; and therefore should strive to do more. They had only themselves to serve, but we our country and mankind. And there was a great difference between those ministers whom they courted, and the minister our friend; for their ministry was the enslaving of their country, and the world; this ministry is the very delivering of both, and the foundation of a nobler structure of liberty (by a just *balance* of power at home and abroad) than ever was yet laid by mankind. They are in so good a way, they can scarce

* *Mecenas.*

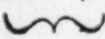
† *Lib. 1. epist. 18. ver. 2.*

‡ *Ibid. ver. 86.*

miscarry. Nor can they fail of reward in the just Let. 7.
 esteem and gratitude of the publick, if they are not
 most unhappily wanting to themselves in their pri-
 vate friendships. But if trusting to their publick
 merit, or to their interest in their prince, they ei-
 ther make no friends, or such as have not courage
 and wisdom, their enemies will find advantages a-
 gainst 'em in any state of affairs.

As our present affairs stand, I am sure a mini-
 ster has need to be fortify'd with good friends and
 honest advisers. He ought to know how he stands
 with the publick, how every action and step is con-
 strued, and what the people think of matters, be-
 fore the proof comes in a parliament. 'Tis my opi-
 nion, that a peace is not so near, as it may seem.
 I know the hard circumstances the *Dutch* lie un-
 der, will make them press for the first terms, that
 seem any way advantageous. But matters are not
 at present to be transacted by a whisper, between
 two gentlemen of the blade; and others must have
 the secret communicated to them, besides * a
 MONSIEUR BOUFLEURS or MILOR PORTLAND:
 so great a change has happen'd since that last peace,
 both in the government of *England*, as well as *Hol-*
land! and a chancellor here apprehends another
 sort of duty, as well as a pensioner there, thanks
 to the *tory* gentlemen, for this their notable fur-
 therance of the prerogative. For I was one of
 those sorrowful *whigs*, who bemoaned the sad case
 of our constitution, according to which the power
 of peace and war was wholly in the prince; whilst
 the *tories* saw plainly that it was otherwise, and

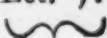
* These made the famous *partition-treaty*, which was
 so ill relish'd in *England*, and rejected by the parliament.
 For a while it was kept very secret, which circumstance
 alone is a just presumption, that a treaty is not for the
 advantage or honour of the nation.

Let. 7.  cou'd impeach a lord * chancellor for placing the seal, where I sincerely thought he cou'd not refuse to do it at his prince's command. But let lord-chancellors, and other ministers look to themselves. If our constitution was not so then, it is become so now : for not the absolute command, the obliquity, the rashness, or ill judgment of the prince himself (tho' ever so much a principal in the case, or tho' single, or by himself) can justify or excuse the least flaw in a treaty ; for which the ministers are with their heads to be answerable to the people, as by late precedents it has been establish'd. These difficulties may easily show a wise minister, that he has need of very discerning, bold, and honest friends ; and such as are not only able by their advice to assist him, but by their interest and credit, be as it were hostages and pledges for him to the publick, and to that conceal'd party of sower and honest men : who, as few as they are, and as little noisy, have a much greater part in the influence of affairs, than ministers are apt to think ; especially those ministers, who affect a high contempt of *coffee-houses* and *pamphlets*. But 'tis time to end my scrawl, and tell you the chief reason of it over leaf.

I HAVE been shamefully tedious about publick affairs, but will be shorter about private ; after only asking, how comes it you are not in parliament ? For your own sake perhaps I am not so much concern'd ; for I know too well what hardships lie upon one, who will not be a slave to a party †, and

* Lord Somers. Lord Portland was also impeach'd ; as were at the same time the lords Orford and Hallifax.

† He does not mean their care should be in prosecuting, which often proves a worse remedy than the disease ; but by considering the contents of them, and thereby judging of the sentiments of the people, or at least of some party among them.

such men shou'd be rather reserv'd for the most *Let. 7.*
 hazardous and calamitous times, when publick 
 necessity and common danger make their merits
 and opinion better regarded. But for a good *
 lord's sake I am sorry you are not there: for tho'
 you may serve him less invidiously, and with more
 satisfaction perhaps to himself, in another station;
 yet he wants those in such a body as the house of
 commons, who are friends to his ministry, and yet
 free to act for those they represent. This I know
 may be shocking in many cases: and if it be so,
 and the difficulty be invincible, I congratulate your
 escape; but condole with another person the want
 of a more truly refin'd policy, than I see is under-
 stood at court.

As for my affair, it hangs just as it did. The
 more I learn from all hands, the more I see, and
 hear, and observe, the more I incline, but hope
 less: for if I had not fears, that I am wholly dis-
 regarded on the side of another sex, I am confident
 I cou'd go further in prevailing, and shou'd have
 better interest in our own, than any other. I
 have this reason, that besides a declaration in my
 favour, with a liking of my character, family, cir-
 cumstances, with the profession of a sincere friend-
 ship, which has been of long standing, and all o-
 ther commendations and professions that I cou'd
 modestly wish or desire, besides all this (I say) I
 have a merit that no body else will rival me in, for
 I wou'd be glad of obtaining upon any terms: and
 that which is so hard to be parted with, is what
 I seek not either now, or in reversion. And
 let this be a token to you, that I am not cool or
 indifferent, as you suspect and reproach me in one
 of your letters. I wou'd with all my soul ingage
 my self this moment to the person (were I but lik'd)
 with a renunciation of every thing of interest or

* Lord treasurer.

Let. 7. fortune, either present, or to come ; and if I lose the person, even thus, I shall esteem it a loss : and whenever I shall think of ingaging else where (if this be lost to me) I shall show that money is not so mighty a thing in my esteem, that it shou'd seem incredible for me to pursue in such a disinterested manner.

BUT surely you will not think this so strange in me, that I shou'd value virtue so much, and wealth so little. And now that I have spent a whole page upon my self (contrary to my promise) committing my self and my affair wholly to you, and resolving to take your judgment on it, I wait your advices, and remain, dear Sir,

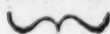
Your most obliged

and ever faithful friend

and humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

If you direct to me to Sir JOHN's here at *Beachworth* in *Surrey*, by *Darking-bagg*, the post will bring your letter quick ; but if any thing of great importance, a servant of mine shall come away at any time from *Chelfey*, to bring what you have to communicate : or perhaps Mr. MIC-
KLETHWAYT, who is often coming hither (generally once a week) may be the conveyor ; at least he will send it to *Chelfey*, or see it safe convey'd, if you direct him.



LETTER VIII.

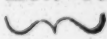
Dear SIR, *Beachworth, Jan. 12. 1708-9.*

THAT you might not be in pain on my account; I took the resolution, as soon as I had read yours, to send an answer away with the soonest, without waiting the return of the post. So this, which is writ late to-night, will I hope come to you to-morrow evening by the penny-post, since it is to be in town before noon. And glad one is of any opportunity of a messenger, such as go by necessity on their own business, and on foot: for our servants and horses cannot stir out of this bottom, where we are block'd up by the deep snows; and, what is worse, the melted snow now turn'd again by the frost into a crufted ice.

I was already on my journey to the west, with my face (in the *Jewish* phrase) towards St. *Giles's*; but now I am a sojourner here of necessity. I can neither go backward nor forward; nor cou'd I, tho' I were a robust man: but as a tender one, I know not what will become of me, or my affairs. For no body's affairs ever requir'd their presence more than mine do at this time, and have done this good while in the country.

BUT now, as to what you write to me of your being in concern for, on my account, you need

Let. 8. fear no resentment or reproach from me on that score. I have that intire dependance on my friend, that I can always commit my affairs and secrets to him as plenipotentiary; and where I have once given my heart (allow a lover to speak in lover's language) I can easily intrust my interest. You have long had my heart, even before I knew you personally. For the holy and truly pious man, who reveal'd the greatest of mysteries; he, who with a truly generous love to mankind and his country, pointed out the *state of Denmark* to other states, and prophesied of the things highliest important to the growing age: he, I say, had already gain'd me as his sworn friend, before he was so kind as to make friendship reciprocal, by his acquaintance and express'd esteem. So that you may believe it no extraordinary transition in me, from making you in truth my oracle in publick affairs, to make you a thorough confidant in my private. All therefore, that I am concerned for, in this bold attempt of yours, is for your own sake; lest your partiality to me, shou'd have made you too forward in showing what was not so worthy of being seen as you imagine, and people are apt to think such things are from design. For my own part, I cou'd not but wonder with my self a great while (for I cou'd with difficulty recollect) what kind of a letter I had writ you: and it is really a solemn law, which I impose on my self in respect of my near friends, never to write but with the freedom, hastiness, and incorrectness of common talk; that they may have all as it comes uppermost. And for this, I can appeal to my late letters, and all that I have writ you on my love subject: for I am confident I never so much as read over one, that I wrote to you on that head. But be it as it will, if what happen'd was but natural (and of that you are best judge) I am satisfy'd; and hope it may prove for the best, as you seem so positively to assure. And

for the other part, my love affair, using the same good judgment you have in this as well as in the other, do as you judge best. I leave all to you: only shou'd be sorry that you ran the least hazard, in going too far out of doors this weather. And therefore beg that your zeal for me wou'd not push you, to what wou'd be a real trouble for me to hear. Take your time, use your own way, act for me with full power, and report your judgment. 

IF I have that interest you intimate in a * great man, I can assure you as well for the publick's sake, as for my own (in real love and obligation to him) I will not indulge my self in any respect; but be a courtier to my utmost, and see him often at *St. James's, Kensington, Windsor*, or wherever he is. Only my health will not bear with any kind of attendance in winter-time, when I am forc'd to attend upon my self; and by that care, and sparing of my self, have recover'd (when by nothing else I cou'd) out of the most languishing condition for three or four years: for which I have endur'd (and must endure it seems, because of the singularity of my distemper) the judgment of the world, as one fantastical and splenetick. But my near friends, those of all hours, and that see me in all circumstances, can best witness for me as to that: tho' perhaps, now they are for advancing me in matrimony, they may magnify my bodily estate, at the hazard of that of my mind, which is less (they think) a fair lady's concern. But I like not the stratagem, and desire to appear in truth what I am; only if I am more careful of my health against the time of such an ingagement, I may be the more excus'd: and indeed it is but after all what is necessary to preserve me, if I am worth preserving for any good I can do the publick, or

* Lord treasurer.

Let. 8. my friends. Never any one cou'd more justly ask
 ~~~~~ that leave, which you yourself ask of me,

\* ——— *Ægrotare timenti*, &c.

And therefore, I hope as soon as the hardest of  
 the winter has spent itself (which is spending a  
 pace) I shall return,

† *Cum zephyris, si concedes, & hirundine prima.*

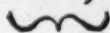
Forgive this habit of long letters, which you have  
 encourag'd. I rest

*Faithfully yours,*

SHAFTESBURY,

\* Hor. lib. 1. ep. 7. ver. 4.

† Ibid. ver. 13.



## L E T T E R IX.

Dear S I R,      *St. Giles's, Feb. 21. 1708-9.*

HOW shall I sufficiently acknowledge the kind services you have lately done me? You may well say indeed, that you love not *to do things by halves*. I am sure you are an intire friend; and I am not surpriz'd to find you so: for when my acquaintance with you was only upon publick affairs, I never found you a half-patriot. We were then fellow-sufferers, for being *so wholly* what we pretended: and the world, I believe, has made us but little amends since. 'Tis pleasant to imagine, that, if we have met with better fortune, it has been by means of one another. Wou'd I cou'd make it indeed thoroughly reciprocal! for, on my side, I may truly say, that the first turning of the stream, which had run against me, was by your hand; and in this most desperate case (which was the injury I receiv'd in an injur'd friend) you instantly set all right; and what I had with pain, and trouble, and all manner of ill usage, been soliciting for many years, you accomplish'd for me in a few weeks, and gave me my first friend at court. After this miracle, I have had faith enough to think you might do any thing. Indeed I did not think you cou'd have conquer'd snows and frosts, and have brav'd the hardest winter-

Let. 9. weather. Yet 'twas in this season that you made such a successful fall for me, and gave me so good an account of my affairs, which I was almost come to think wholly desperate.

BUT your short and long letter (which have both come safe to me) as well as the account receiv'd from my friends the post before, give me new hopes. I wish I cou'd answer as well in the matter of my health, as I can in all other respects, where you have kindly been undertaker and guarantee for me. If I am more careful of my health now than before, 'tis because I have this occasion: and that the more than ordinary care I have had of it of late, has succeeded so well with me. This I am sure of, that I am so far from being averse to live in the world, and to have a share in the converse and affairs of it; that had I a wife that was discreet, and good, and capable of advice, I shou'd more than any one be desirous of her being much in the world, and supplying that part for me. My bookishness has so little reason to fright any one, that if I had ever been of a temper to love books, better than the conversation of my friends and relations; I am now really necessitated to lay them by, for no body wants little amusements more than I do. And tho' on account of my mind I cou'd boast perhaps, that, in the greatest solitude, I cou'd vie with any one for ease and cheerfulness; yet since the change that happen'd in my health, I am not able to apply as formerly; nor even study above an hour at a time, or hardly as much more in a whole day. And I, who had gone thro' the diversions and entertainment of some courts, and foreign countries, and in the company of ladies, without ever once playing at cards, or knowing any such thing as play; I'm of late become a card-player with the women, and am better qualify'd for chat with them, than for speeches in a parliament or works in a study. Thus most things have their

convenience and inconvenience. 'Tis certain, that in many respects I may be said to make a better husband now, that my hands are ty'd; than I shou'd have done, if I had been left to act to the utmost of my strength in politicks. There is a selfishness in the love that is paid a wife, and in the attendance on a family, and all the little affairs of it; which, had I my full scope of action in the publick, I shou'd hardly have submitted to. An honest man must certainly be the greatest happiness of an honest woman. But then, there is bitter too with the sweet; for an honest man will love the publick, and act honestly in the publick: and if he does so, 'tis two to one but he is hard set, and perhaps ground between the parties; at least he will have but a solicitous life of it. He can't so well *vacare uxori* as the knave: but then the knave will be a knave to her, and *vacare* to other women instead of her. And thus upon a *medium*, I look upon my self as in reality better qualify'd than ever for a good husband, if it be to a truly good woman, whose chief satisfaction wou'd be a conversible and chearful way of living, with a man who lov'd and valu'd her; and whose chief thoughts and time wou'd be bestow'd on her and her children, and to make her life as agreeable as cou'd be to her self, and her part in the world as considerable.

BUT to come to practice after my doctrine, you may depend upon it, I will not be long 'ere I return again to you: and tho' after a long absence, and the death of an old servant who had all my affairs here in his hands, I have found things in great disorder, I shou'd value no loss of this kind. The weather seems now to break: and if the roads (as in a fortnight or three weeks they may be) become passable, and the weather tolerable, I will soon come and make my second attempt, with all the strength of friends that I can make on my side.

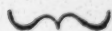
Let. 9. And if I can but have the least kind help from within the place, we may be able to carry it.

'Tis a sad case for such a one as I am, to hang in suspense in an affair of this kind, where I am so passionately engag'd. I find it worse perhaps than another, because I am so us'd to have my head free for publick affairs and thoughts of a larger kind. But I protest, tho' I have twenty things to say to you about the publick, I can't come out with one. Forgive me I beg you, and place it to the account of that zeal I have in an affair, you have thus forwarded, and is in your hands; as is intirely

*Your oblig'd friend,*

SHAFTESBURY.

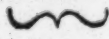




## LETTER X.

Dear SIR,      *St. Giles's, March 7. 1708-9.*

I SHOU'D indeed have been concern'd very much at your silence, had I not known of your health by your friends and mine, with whom you lately din'd. I fear'd your constitution wou'd suffer by this extremity of weather, we have had. The town-smoke, I think, is no addition to this evil in your respect: but with me it wou'd have been destruction. The happiness of a most healthy and warm, as well as pleasant situation, where I am, and which I may really praise beyond any I have known in *England*, has preserv'd me in better health this winter, than I cou'd have imagin'd. And I design to profit of the stock I have laid up, and come soon where I may have the happiness of conversing with you. But now you have led me into the talk of friendship, and have so kindly expostulated with me about my thanks, let me in my turn expostulate too about your excuses for your letters, or even for your omission. I well know you wou'd not forget me, were there any thing that friendship requir'd. For the rest, friendship requires that we shou'd be easy, and make each other so. 'Tis an injustice to a real friend, to deny one's self the being lazy, when one has a

Let. 10.  mind to it. I have profess'd to you, that I take that liberty my self, and wou'd use it if there were occasion. But besides other inequalities that are between us, over and above those you reckon'd up; consider that, together with my full leisure and retreat here in the country (by which means I have choice of hours to write when I fancy) I have also a secret and private interest that pushes me forward to be writing to you, as often and as much as I can. I am asham'd things shou'd stand so unequally between us: for you have not yet had a fair trial, what a correspondent I shou'd prove upon equal terms, nor can I impute a single letter of mine to mere friendship. But I am more asham'd still, when I, who shou'd make excuses, am forc'd to receive 'em. See if you are not over-generous! for any one, besides your self, wou'd be apt to use a little raillery with a man in my circumstances; that had such an affair depending, and wholly in your hands. But I find you have too much gallantry, as well as friendship, to take the least advantage of a lover; and are willing to place more to the account of friendship, than I can suffer without blushing. However, be secure of this; that when you take intentions instead of facts, you can never impute more to me in the way of friendship, than I really deserve. And if I have not yet had the occasion, of proving myself as I wou'd do to you in this respect; I am satisfy'd, if the occasion offer'd, you wou'd not find me remiss. In the mean time, pray use me with more indulgence, and show me that you can use me as a friend, by writing only when you have a fancy, and no more than you have a fancy for. You can't imagine what a favour I shou'd take it, to receive a shorter and a worse letter from you, than you wou'd write perhaps to any friend you had in the world besides. 'Tis a law I set my self with my near and intimate friends, to write in every humour, or neglect writ-

ing as I fancy: and from this settled negligence I grow a right correspondent, and write when I scarce think of it, by making thus free with those I write to. If you will take my humour as it runs, you shall have hearty thanks too into the bargain, for taking it off at this rate. Let me but have a small scrap or scrawl (three or four lines below the first of your letters, after the late conference) and I shall think my self not *only* favourably, but kindly and friendly dealt with.

\* *Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum.*

The truth is, I long for another such precious scrap, as I had after your first attempt for me; that if you are as successful in a second, and find that your good advice has made impression, and that there be a real foundation of hope, I may come up quickly to make my second attempt upon my old friend.

YOUR story of friendship cou'd not but delight me, it being one of my darling † pieces: especially being in an author, who, tho' he perpetually does all he can, to turn all morality and virtue into ridicule: is yet forc'd to pay this, and one or two more remarkable tributes of acknowledgment, to the principle of society and friendship, which is the real principle of life; the end of life, and not (as some philosophers wou'd have it) the means. *Horace* in his wild days was of another opinion: but when he came in a riper age to state the question,

‡ *Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumve trahat nos?*

\* *Hor. lib. iv. od. 12. ver. 17.*

† This story, which is well worth perusing, is in *Lucian's Toxaris, or discourse of friendship.*

‡ *Ibid. ver. 75.*

Let. 10. he always gives it for the latter; and wou'd not allow virtue to be a mere name. Let who will despise friendship, or deny a social principle; they will, if they are any thing ingenuous, be urg'd one time or another to confess the power of it: and if they enjoy it not themselves, will admire or envy it in others. And when they have inverted the whole matter of life, and made friendships, and acquaintances, and alliances, serve only as a means to the great and sole end of interest; they will find by certain tokens within their own breasts, that they are short of their true and real interests of life; for this is in reality,

*Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*

Your judgment too, of the first of the parts in the story of friendship, is in my opinion perfectly just. My natural ambition in friendship, made me wish to be the poor man rather of the two: tho' since I have lately had to deal with a rich one, I have wish'd often to change parts; and keeping the wealth I have, wou'd fain have my old friend to be heartily poor, and accordingly make an experiment of me by such a legacy. But I am afraid, he hardly thinks me capable of accepting of it: or if he did, I know not whether he wou'd think the more favourably of me. Mine is a hard case indeed, when I am on one side oblig'd to act so dis-interests'd a part; and yet must be careful on the other side, lest for not loving money, I shou'd be thought an ill son-in-law, and unfit to be intrusted with any thing. Thus you see I mix love and philosophy: and so I shou'd politicks and publick affairs with private, if my place at this time was not the country, and yours the town. However, I can't forbear intreating you to send me word, whether the proposal about \* *Dunkirk* was from

\* The demolishing of its fortifications and ruining

our friend in the ministry or not? for I heard he  
dislik'd it, or seem'd to do so; and for the last  
there may be good reason, as he is a statesman:  
for the former, I can see none, but am rather in-  
clin'd to think, that as a generous and true statef-  
man, he had for many reasons (in respect of foreign  
and home affairs) contriv'd that the proposal shou'd  
seem to have its rise from a popular heat; rather  
than from the cabinet council, and as a deliberate  
thought. But if my own thought of it be found,  
'tis in the way of friendship still: for I cou'd wish  
a friend the happiness of being author of every pu-  
blick good, that was possible for him, and not to  
be a hindrance or obstruction to any.

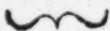
To conclude, one word about my private affair,  
and I ha' done for this time. I beg you, when  
you have been your visits, and made your utmost  
effort to see what foundation I may hope for, you  
wou'd write me a line instantly. For tho' I have  
private affairs of some consequence, that shou'd  
keep me here at least a month or six weeks longer,  
I will despise all of that kind: and, now the roads  
are passable and weather tolerable, will come up  
at a week's warning; if a man who loves and ad-  
mires is known, tho' never seen, can possibly be  
wor'd, or thought to deserve. For if so, the  
cause is nobler, and there is a better foundation for  
acting boldly.

*Adieu, Adieu.*

its harbour, which was first propos'd in the unaccom-  
plish'd treaties of the *Hague* and *Gertraydenburg*, 1703.



Let. II.



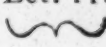
## LETTER XI.

*Dear SIR,      Beachworth, June 3. 1709.*

**T**IS now long since I had fix'd my thoughts on nothing, but the happiness of seeing you ; and profiting of those advantages, which the perfectest friendship, with the greatest address, and indefatigable pains, had compass'd in my half. There was nothing I might not have hop'd from such a foundation as you had laid : and all the enchantments in the world cou'd not have held proof, had my sad fate allow'd me but to have follow'd my guide, and executed what my general had so ably design'd. But not a star, but has been my enemy. I had hardly got over the unnatural winter, but with all the zeal imaginable I dispatch'd my affairs, and came up from the west, thinking to surprize you by a visit. The hurry I came away in, and the fatigue of more than ordinary business, I was forc'd to dispatch that very morning I set out, join'd with the ill weather which return'd again upon my journey, threw me into one of my ill fits of the *asthma*, and almost kill'd me on the road. After a few weeks I got this over, and my hopes reviv'd : and last week went to *Chelsey*, paid my visit next day to the old man, found him not at home, resolv'd to redouble my visits, and once more endeavour to move him

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But the winds return'd to their old quarter, I had *London* smoke on me for a day or two; grew extremely ill with it, and was forc'd to retire hither, where I have but just recover'd breath. 

WHAT shall I do in such a case? To trouble you further, I am ashamed; ashamed too, that I shou'd have push'd such an affair, to which my strength was so little suitable: and yet ashamed to desist, after what I have done, and the vast trouble I have put you to. But fortune has at length taught me that lesson of philosophy, *to know my self*, my constitution I mean: for my mind (in this respect at least) I know full well. And I wish in all other things I cou'd be as unerring and perfect, as I have been in this affair; in which I am certain no ambition, or thought of interest, has had any part: though it may look as if all my aim had been fortune, and not the person and character of the lady, as I have pretended. But in this I dare almost say with assurance, *you know my heart*. Whether the lady does or ever will, God knows: for I have scarce the heart left to tell it her, had I the opportunity.

So much for my sad fortune.

I HOPE however to be at *Chelsey* again in a few days, and I long for the happiness of seeing you there: for I have no hopes of being able to wait on you at your lodgings.

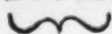
If the Queen goes soon to *Windsor*, I hope soon to see the great man, our friend; whom I can easier visit there, than at *St. James's*. He has been so kind to enquire after me with particular favour, and has sent me a kind message in relation to publick affairs.

*I am, dear S I R,*

*Your most obliged friend,*

*and faithful humble servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.



## LETTER XII.

*My dear Friend,*

*Chelsey, June 15. 1709.*

I WAS this day to wait again on my old lord. I found him as civil and obliging as ever. But when I came to make mention of my affair, I found this subject was uneasy to him. I did but take occasion, when he spoke in praise of my little house and study, to tell him I built it in a different view from what his lordship knew me to have of late: for I had then (I told him) no thoughts beyond a single life. I wou'd have added, that since I was unhappy in my first offer, and had turned my thoughts as I had lately done, when I flattered my self in the hopes of his favour, I cou'd no longer enjoy the place or his neighbourhood, with the satisfaction I had done before. — But I found he was deaf on this ear. He seemed to express all the uneasiness that cou'd be, and I cou'd go no further. I see there is no hope left for me. If he thought any one sincere, I believe I might be as likely as any one to be trusted by him. But I am afraid he thinks but the worse of me, for pretending to value his daughter as I do: and for pretending, that I wou'd be glad to take her without a farthing, present or future; and yet settle all I have, as I have offer'd him. He will not easily find such a friend and son-in-law; one that has such a regard for him and his.

BUT so it must be. He may suffer perhaps as well as I. There is no help for this, when men are too crafty to see plain; and too interested, to see their real friends and interest. I shall soon shew my sincerity in one respect, if I live: for since I cannot have the woman I have seen and liked, I may determine perhaps on one I have never seen; and take a lady for a character only without a fortune (which I want not) since you and other friends are so kindly importunate, and pressing, on this concern of mine. Let. 12.

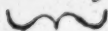
BUT of this more when I see you next, with a thousand acknowledgments and thanks, for the thorough friendship you have shown; and what is so truly friendship, that I almost think I injure it, when I speak of thanks and acknowledgments.

You will have me take all of this kind in another manner: and therefore on the same foot, I expect you should take all that I have done or ever can do, without ceremony, and as

*Your faithful friend,*

*and humble servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.



## LETTER XIII.

*My dear Friend, Beachworth, July 19. 1709.*

I CAN hardly be reconcil'd to you, for saying so much as you have done, to express your concern for the disappointment of my grand affair. I am not so ill a friend, nor have liv'd so little in the world, as not to know by experience, that a disappointment in a friend's concern, is often of more trouble to one, than in one's own. And I was so satisfy'd this was our case, that I was willing to diminish the loss, and make as slight of it as possible; the better to comfort you, and prevent your being too much concern'd at what had happen'd. As to the fortune, I might sincerely have done it; but as to the lady, I own the loss is great enough: for besides her character and education, she was the first I turn'd my thoughts upon, after the promise you had drawn from me the year before; when you join'd with some friends of mine, in kindly pressing me to think of the continuance of a family. Methinks now, I might be acquitted, after this attempt I have made. But you have taken occasion from the ill success of it, to prove how much more still you are my friend, in desiring to make the most of me, while I live, and keep what you can of me for memory-sake afterwards.



This is the kindest part in the world: and I can't bring my self so much as to suppose a possibility of your flattering me. I have an easy faith in friendship. My friends may dispose of me as they please, when they thus lay claim to me: and whilst they find me of any use to them, or think I have any power still to serve mankind or my country, in such a sphere as is yet left for me; I can live as happy in a crazy state of health, and out of the way of pleasures and diversions, as if I enjoy'd 'em in the highest degree. If marriage can be suitable to such a circumstance of life, I am content to engage. I must do my best, to render it agreeable to those I engage with: and my choice, I am sensible, ought for this reason to be as you have wisely prescrib'd for me. I must resolve to sacrifice other advantages, to obtain what is principal and essential in my case.

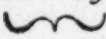
WHAT other people will say of such a match, I know not; nor what motive they will assign for it, when interest is set aside. Love, I fear, will be scarce a tolerable pretence in such a one as I am: and for a family, I have a brother still alive, whom I may have still some hopes of. What a weakness then wou'd it be thought in me, to marry with little or no fortune, and not in the highest degree of quality neither? Will it be enough that I take a breeder out of a good family, with a right education, fit for a mere wife; and with no advantages but simple innocence, modesty, and the plain qualities of a good mother, and a good nurse? This is as little the modern relish, as that old fashion'd wife of Horace's,

\* *Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus  
Pernicis uxor Appuli.*

Can you or my friends, who press me to this, bear me out in it? See, if with all the notions of vir-

\* Epod. ii. ver. 41.

M 3

Let. 13.  tue (which you, more than any one, have help'd to propagate in this age) it be possible to make such an affair pass tolerable in the world ! The experiment, however shall be made, if I live out this summer : and you shall hear me say, as the old batchelor in the *Latin Menander*, with a little alteration,

*\* Etsi hoc molestum, — atque alienum a vita mea  
Videtur ; si vos tantopere istuc voltis, fiat.*

You see upon what foot of friendship I treat you. Judge whether it be necessary for you hereafter to say much in order to convince me, what a friend you are : and for my own part, I have reduc'd you, I am confident, to the necessity of believing me, either the most insincere of all men, or the most faithfully

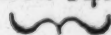
*Your friend and*

*humble servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.

I miss'd our great friend, when I was last to visit him at St. *James's*. I intend for *Windsor* very soon, if I am able.

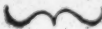
*\* Terent. Adelp. act. 5. scen. 8. ver. 21.*



L E T T E R XIV.

*Dear SIR,    Reygate in Surrey, Nov. 1. 1709.*

I F I have had any real joy in my new state, it was then chiefly when I receiv'd yours, that wish'd it me. The two or three friends, whom, besides your self, I pretend to call by that name, were so much parties to the affair, and so near me, that their part of congratulation was in a manner anticipated. Happily you were at a good distance, and *point de vue*, to see right: for as little trust as I allow to the common friendship of the world, I am so presumptuous in this case of a near and intimate friend; that instead of mistrusting their affection, I am rather afraid of its rendering them too partial. The interest and part, which I believe them ready to take in my concern, makes me wish them sometimes to see me (as they shou'd do themselves) from a distance, and in a less favourable light. So that although I have had *godfathers* to my match, I have not been *confirm'd* till I had your approbation: and though (thank God) I have had faith to believe my self a good Christian, without episcopal confirmation; I should have thought my self an ill husband, and but half marry'd, if I had not receiv'd your concluding sentence, and friendly blessing. In good earnest (for to you I am not ashamed to say it) I have for ma-

Let. 14.  ny years known no other pleasure, or interest, or satisfaction, in doing any thing; but as I thought it right, and what became me to my friends and country. Not that I think, I had the less pleasure for this reason; but honesty will always be thought a melancholly thing to those, who go but half way into the reason of it; and are honest by chance, or by force of nature, not by reason and conviction. Were I to talk of marriage, and forc'd to speak my mind plainly, and without the help of humour or railery; I shou'd doubtless offend the most part of sober marry'd people, and the ladies chiefly: for I shou'd in reality think I did wonders, in extolling the happiness of my new state, and the merit of my wife in particular; by saying, *that I verily thought my self as happy a man now as ever.* And is not that subject enough of joy! What wou'd a man of sense wish more? For my own part, if I find any sincere joy, 'tis because I promis'd my self no other, than the satisfaction of my friends; who thought my family worth preserving, and my self worth nursing in an indifferent crazy state, to which a wife (if a real good one) is a great help. Such a one I have found: and if by her help or care, I can regain a tolerable share of health; you may be sure it will be employ'd as you desire, since my marriage it self was but a means to that end.

I HAVE defer'd three or four posts the answering yours, in expectation of reporting something to you from our great lord, to whom I had lately sent a letter; he having before let me know, that he wou'd soon write to me upon something of moment: but as yet I have heard nothing. Only, as oft as he sees a friend of ours, he enquires after me with particular kindness. I am now at such a convenient distance from him, whether he be at St. James's, Kensington, or Windsor; that, when the weather and wind serves for me, and I am to-

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lerably well, I can in four or five hours driving be ready to attend him. Other attendance I am not, you know, capable of; nor can I expect such a change of health, as that comes to: for sincerely it depends on that alone. As proudly as I have carry'd my self to other ministers, I cou'd as willingly pass a morning waiting at his levee, as any where else in the world. Let. 14.

WHEN last I was with him at *Windsor*, you may be sure, I cou'd not omit speaking to him of your self. The time I had with him was much interrupted by company. I know not how my interest, on such a foot as this, is like to grow: but I am certain it shall not want any cultivating, which an honest man, and in my circumstances, can possibly bestow upon it. If he has, or comes to have any good opinion of my capacity or knowledge, he must withal regard me in the choice I make of friends. And if it happens, as fortunately as it has done, that the chief friend I have, and the first whom I consider in publick affairs, was previously his own acquaintance and prov'd friend; one wou'd think, he shou'd afterwards come to set a higher value upon him: and since he cannot have one always near him, who gladly wou'd be so; he will oblige another, who is willing and able. And in reality, if at this time your coming up depends only on his wish (as you tell me) and the commands he may have for you; I shall much wonder if he forgets the advantage, or thinks he can dispense with your presence at such a time.

YOUR character of lord WHARTON is very generous. I am glad to hear so well of him. If ever I expected any publick good, where virtue was wholly sunk, 'twas in his character: the most mysterious of any in my account, for this reason. But I have seen many proofs of this monstrous compound in him, of the very worst and best. A



Let. 14. thousand kind thanks to you in my own and  
 spouse's name, for your kind thoughts of seeing  
 us. I add only my repeated service and good  
 wishes, as

*Your old and faithful friend,*

*and obliged humble servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.

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L E T T E R S

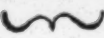
F R O M

Sir JOHN CROPLEY.

L E T T E R I.

*Dear S I R,*

**M**Y lord SHAFTESBURY has desir'd me, to make you his excuse at this time ; and I am sure when I tell you what hinders him, you will be more pleas'd with a letter from me, than with any you have ever had from him. However, I know in a post or two he will do it himself ; and tell you he is come acquainted with a person that has every qualification, but equality of fortune, to make her a futable match. I believe no man ever had a surer prospect of his own and family's happiness. I am only concern'd that so good a friend as you, are not here, to be that way a partaker with my self of this ; and my lord laments it himself as much. His health, which is our best article, is become so good this weather, that he has been able to make his *Windsor* journey, without hurting himself : and the good impression your friend, my lord treasurer, made at

Let. 1. first on my lord, daily increafes. And I muft own,  since our friend has fteer'd by our compafs, and has taken this refolution at our request, and for his country's good, I wifh it was as fuch told your friend my lord treasurer; and the more, fince I find my lord SHAFTESBURY is defirous of cultivating all ways the foot they now ftand on. I wou'd \* not have this pafs for a light aét, which in it felf is fo far from it. And I muft fay again, the choice is fo good in all refpects but that one, which my lord is very well able to difpenfe with, that even fome *whig* friends that don't love him (whatever they pretend) for fo often putting them out of countenance, and arraigning their conduct, will not be able to wound him at all: tho', as a fincere friend to my lord SHAFTESBURY, I muft own 'tis the only place I fear hurt from; and fo, am the more willing to put you in mind of this fence againft it. If your occasions fhould be fo preffing, to get the better of your inclinations, and keep you from doing this in the beft way; yet I hope, in your correfponding with my lord treasurer, you will remember this by the very firft opportunity. My lord SHAFTESBURY is now at *Beachworth*. I fhall be with him to-morrow: and Mr. MICKLETHWAYT, who is now here, will have me add his humble refpects. I can fay, no man is with greater faithfulnefs, gratitude, and refpect, than my felf,

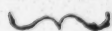
Dear S I R,

Your moft humble and  
 Red Lyon Square, moft obedient fervant,  
 16th of Auguft. J. CROPLEY.

I won't pretend to give you news, but MICK fays we have none. I beg my beft refpects and good wifhes to your fons.

\* Meaning lord SHAFTESBURY's marriage.

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## LETTER II.

Dear SIR,

October the 6th.

THE marriage of our friend must be my excuse, for no sooner acknowledging so kind a letter, as I about that time receiv'd from you. But really, as private and as little to do as there was done in it, yet it gave me more business than I expected. You must long ere this know, that his lady is a daughter of Mr. EWER of *Hertfordshire*, where that family have been seated ever since HENRY the 7th's time. I gave you, I remember, a pretty full account of all, but her name, in my letter: so that I will only now say of it, that I believe no man ever had a wife, that his own life and happiness wou'd go on more the same, and undisturb'd in all parts of it, than he has. My lord, by going too soon unto his *Reigate* house, got a severe cold; but he's so perfectly recover'd, as to be much better than I have seen him in some years past. You wou'd now be as much rejoic'd, and indeed surpriz'd, to see the good signs of health in him; as you were concern'd, in seeing him last at *Chelsey*. The change is so great, that I don't doubt but the publick too, one way or other, will have good signs of it. My lord treasurer has most kindly writ to congratulate him; and my lord has writ a letter in answer, with more personal ho-

Let. 2. nour and esteem, than I am sure he ever writ a minister before. By the way, now I am speaking of compliments, on this occasion I hear a certain person, at your lord \* lieutenant's, gave a pretty odd account of the lady, or rather of my lord; by saying, she was far from being young. Indeed if that had been wanting in any match, it wou'd have made it a sad affair. But she is but twenty. So I can't but fancy, some odd wrong person must have been nam'd for him: or is it not a feature of the old leaven, a breaking out of some old *whiggism*, for past sins committed, that can never be forgiven? And this was more strange, to make such a deliberate act of his, and that he was so difficult to be brought to, pass for a sudden rash one, when youth was also taken away. But some are so keen and envious of characters, as to be sometimes pretty preposterous in their schemes to defame by. My lord is now with me, and enjoins me to give you his most faithful respects and thanks, for all your kind concern and good wishes. I am with unfeign'd respect and sincerity,

Dear S I R,

Your most faithful, obedient,

humble servant,

J. CROPLEY

\* At lord WHARTON's.



# L E T T E R S

## O F T H E

Earl of SHAFTESBURY,

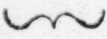
Taken from the Account of his LIFE  
in the *General Dictionary*.

*An extract of a letter to* \* THOMAS STRINGER, *esq;*

*London, Feb. the 15th, 1695.*

I WILL not trouble you any farther now, nor indeed have I time. We have got a bill to be engrossed, which lays an incapacity on the elector (as the late passed act does on the elected) in case of corruption, meat, drink, &c. and which obliges the knights of the shire to have 500 l. a year, or the inheritance of it, as freehold within the county, and a burghers 200 l. a year somewhere at least in *England* on the same terms. You would, I believe, scarcely imagine with your self, who these are in the world, or who they are in the house, who oppose this, and all other such bills as this might and main; and who they are, that are

\* A gentleman who had held an office under the late chancellor SHAFTESBURY.

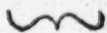
Let. 1.  condemned of flying in the face of the government, as they call it, by being for such things as these are, and pressing such hard things on the prerogative or court. In short, you would hardly believe, that your poor friend, that now writes to you, has sentence (and bitter sentence too) every day passing upon him, for going, as you may be sure he goes and ever will go on such occasions as these; whatever party it be, that is in, or out at court, that is in possession of the places, and afraid of losing their daily bread by not being servile enough, or that are out of places, and think, by crossing the court, and siding with good and popular things against it, to get into those places of profit and management. No more. My kind service to Mrs. STRINGER, and my service too to your son.

*I am*

*your sincere friend, &c.*

A. ASHLEY.

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*A Letter to the Earl of OXFORD.*

MY LORD,

*Reygate, March 29, 1711.*

THE honour you have done me in many kind inquiries after my health, and the favour you have shewn me lately, in forwarding the only means I have left for my recovery, by trying the air of a warmer climate, obliges me e'er I leave *England* to return your lordship my most humble thanks and acknowledgments in this manner, since I am unable to do it in a better. I might perhaps, my lord, do injustice to my self, having had no opportunity of late years to pay my particular respects to you, if I should attempt any otherwise to compliment your lordship on the late honours you have received, than by appealing to the early acquaintance and strict correspondence I had once the honour to maintain with you and your family, for which I had been bred almost from my infancy to have the highest regard. Your lordship well knows my principles and behaviour from the first hour I engaged in any publick concern, and with what zeal I spent some years of my life in supporting your interest, which I thought of greater moment to the publick, than my own, or family's could ever be. What the natural effects are of private friendship so founded, and what the consequence of different opinions intervening, your lordship, who is so good a judge of men and things, can better resolve with yourself, than I can possibly suggest.

Let. 2. And being so knowing in friends, (of whom your lordship has acquired so many) you can recollect how those ties or obligations have been hitherto preserved towards you, and whose friendships, affections, and principles, you may for the future best depend upon in all circumstances and variations publick and private. For my own part, I shall say only, that I very sincerely wish you all happiness, and can with no man living congratulate more heartily on what I account real honour and prosperity. Your conduct of the publick will be the just earnest and insurance of your greatness and power; and I shall then chiefly congratulate with your lordship on your merited honours and advancement, when by the happy effects it appears evidently in the service of what cause, and for the advantage of what interest they were acquired and employed. Had I been to wish by what hands the publick should have been served, the honour of the first part (your lordship well knows) had fallen to you long since. If others, from whom I least hoped, have done greatly and as became them, I hope, if possible, you will still exceed all they have performed, and accomplish the great work so gloriously begun and carried on for the rescue of liberty, and the deliverance of *Europe* and mankind. And in this presumption I cannot but remain with the same zeal and sincerity as ever,

*My Lord, &c.*

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*A letter to the Lord GODOLPHIN.*

MY LORD,

*Reygate, May 27, 1711.*

BEING about to attempt a journey to *Italy* to try what a warmer climate (if I am able to reach it) may do towards the restoring me a little breath and life, it is impossible for me to stir hence, till I have acquitted myself of my respects the best I can to your lordship, to whom alone, had I but strength enough to make my compliments, and pay a day's attendance in town, I should think myself sufficiently happy in my weak state of health. I am indeed, my lord, little able to render services of any kind; nor do I pretend to offer myself in such a capacity to any one, except your lordship only. But could I flatter myself that e'er I parted hence, or while I passed through *France*, or stay'd in *Italy*, I could any where, in the least trifle, or in the highest concern, render any manner of service to your lordship, I should be proud of such a commission. Sure I am, in what relates to your honour and name (if that can receive ever any advantage from such an hand as mine) your publick as well as private merit will not pass unremembred into whatever region or climate I am transferred. No one has a more thorough knowledge in that kind than myself, nor no one there is, who on this account has a juster



Let. 3. right to profess himself, as I shall ever do, with  
highest obligation and most constant zeal,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordship's most faithful*

*and most obedient,*

*humble servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.

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## P R E F A C E

To Dr. WHICHCOT's select Sermons,

First published in the year 1698.

By the Earl of SHAFTESBURY.

**A**MONGST those many things which are made publick ; it may be thought, perhaps, of *sermons* ; that they are, of any other, the least wanted ; and, for the future, least likely to be found wanting : since to that rich and inexhaustible store, with which the learned and orthodox divines of *England* have already furnished us, there is daily fresh addition, from worthy and able hands. Neither have we cause to fear a cessation in this kind ; or that so great a blessing is likely to fail us, for the future ; having such security, not only from the unwearied zeal of present divines (of whom we may always hope a worthy succession) but, from the just esteem which the publick never fails to shew for such pious discourses. Upon which account, we find that many of these are every day made publick ; and, as it were, forced into the world ; notwithstanding the great modesty of their authors, whose humble thoughts, and devoutly resigned affections, lead them not towards eminence and advancement in the world.

It may seem strange therefore, that in such an age as this, any one should be so officious, as to

search after, and publish the sermons of a man long since dead, who (himself) never meant to publish any; or thought so highly of himself, as that he could benefit the world by such a publication.

IT is certain, that we must not ever imagine, nor can it enter into a mind truly Christian, that because we see not an apparent change for the better, in the lives of Christian professors; that, therefore all *preaching* is ineffectual; or, that here in *England*, the labours of the most eminent divines that perhaps the world ever afforded, have been of no use at all: it might be said with the same reason (though very profanely and wickedly) that because the Christians are not reported to exceed the other nations of the world, in probity, and good living; but are said to be rather inferior in this respect, to the civilized people, whether Pagan or Mahometan, lying round them; that therefore the Christian religion is of no effect at all, nor any ways operative upon the lives of its professors.

BUT, if we consider this as becomes us; and not perversely, as many do; it will be found that we are, even in this sense, the most highly indebted to *Christianity*; and should look upon it as the greatest blessing imaginable; not only for its spiritual advantages, which are unspeakable; but for its temporal benefits and securities; in as much as that mankind being so inclinable to ill, we should have a religion so full of all good precepts, and so enforcing with respect to all the duties of morality and justice. So that our amazement ought rather to be; how men, with such a religion, should lead such lives! and how malice, hatred or division, should have place in such societies as these; which we might expect to see distinguish'd from all others, rather by a perfect harmony and agreement, than by the fiercest quarrels, contentions and animosities.

AND, indeed, when we consider the nature of *preaching*; how excellent an order and establishment it is; how highly raised and magnified in the Christian world: when we consider numbers of holy men set apart for this great work; having all advantages given them, the better to set forth those glorious truths of revelation, and to create a reverence of religion in the minds of men; when we consider the solemnity of a church-assembly, and the awful presence and authority of the Christian orator; we may be apt to wonder perhaps, why we see not greater and more happy effects hereof, in the world. However we must of necessity conclude, that *this institution* being undoubtedly so powerful a support of our religion; if such assemblies as these were not upheld, if such authority as this did not subsist, the consequence would be, that as in a little time there would be no more Christianity left in the world, so neither any morality; since, notwithstanding all the helps of *preaching*, and the assistance and support which virtue receives from hence, the lives of men are still so far from being reform'd, and the world so little improved, in these latter ages.

BUT, how reverently soever we have cause to think concerning *this institution*, and the undoubted good effects of it upon mankind; and, whatever high opinion and esteem we may justly have of their performance in whose hands this power is placed; it seems not wholly impossible, but that there may be some defect in this great affair; and that the causes of ill success may not ly altogether in the depravity, perverseness, or stupidity of mankind, who are the hearers and readers of these doctrines.

IN some countries, and amongst some sorts of Christians, we have seen, that the whole of *this institution* has not been appropriated to spirituals; but, that a great part of those divine exhortations

have had something in common with the policies of the world, and the affairs of government. And, of whatsoever benefit this may have been to mankind, or to the peace of the Christian world; it must be own'd that *preaching* itself, will be so much the less apt to make any happy revolution in manners, as it has at any time been serviceable to revolutions in state, or to the support of any other interest than that of CHRIST's kingdom.

NOR do we find, since the arts of government, and mysteries of religion, have been thus suited together; that *either* has been much advantag'd by the union; it having never yet appeared, that divinity has been greatly better'd by policy; or that policy has been any where mended by divinity.

AMONGST those writers who have been forward in making this unprosperous alliance, and building a political Christianity; there has been \* *one* of our nation (in the time wherein our author liv'd) who, whether he may have been serviceable any way to the civil government, or Christian church; it may be concluded, at least, that he has done but very ill service in the moral world. And however other parts of philosophy may be obliged to him, *ethicks* will appear to have no great share in the obligation. He has, indeed with great zeal and learning, been opposed by all the eminent and worthy divines of the church of *England*: and had the same industry been applied to the correction of his moral principles, as has been bestow'd in refuting some other of his errors, it might perhaps have been of more service to religion, in the main.

THIS is *he* who reckoning up the passions or affections by which men are held together in society, live in peace, or have any correspondence one with another, forgot to mention kindness, friendship, sociableness, love of company and converse, natu-

\* MR. HOBBS.



ral affection, or any thing of this kind ; I say *for-*  
*got*, because I can scarcely think so ill of any man,  
 as that he has not by experience found any of these  
 affections in himself, and consequently, that he be-  
 lieves none of them to be in others. But in the  
 place of other affections, or good inclinations, of  
 whatever kind, this author has substituted only one  
 master-passion, *fear*, which has, in effect, devour'd  
 all the rest, and left room only for that infinite pas-  
 sion towards *power after power, natural* (as he af-  
 firms) *to all men, and never ceasing but in death*\*.  
 So much less *good nature* has he left with mankind,  
 than what he allows the worst of beasts: having  
 allotted to us, in the way of our nature, such mis-  
 chievous passions as are unknown to them ; and not  
 so much as allowed us any degree of their good  
 ones, such as they all are known to have, and are  
 never wanting to exert towards their own kind :  
 by which excellency of nature (so little reckon'd  
 upon, in the case of mankind) their common inter-  
 est is duly served, and their species propagated  
 and maintain'd.

HAD not the poyson of these immoral, and (in  
 reality) *atheistical* principles been diffused more  
 than 'tis easy to imagine, (at that time especially  
 when Dr. WHICHCOT appeared) we should, per-  
 haps, where morality was concerned, have heard  
 less of *terror and punishment* ; and more of *moral*  
*rectitude and good nature*. At least, it should not  
 have grown customary to explode good nature, and  
 detract from that good which is ascribed to *na-*  
*tural* temper, and is accounted *natural affecti-*  
*on*, as having ground and foundation in *mere*  
*NATURE* : on the contrary ; it would have been  
 the business of those who had managed the  
 cause of religion, to have contended for these

\* *Leviathan*, p. 47.

better dispositions; and to have shewn, how deep root and foundation they had in human nature; and not, just contrary-wise, to have built on the ruin of *these*. For, with some people, this was then become a method to prove Christianity. Revelation was to owe its establishment to the depression and lowering of such principles as these in the nature of man: and the weakness of these was made the strength of religion. As if good nature, and religion, were enemies: a thing, indeed, so unthought of, amongst the *heathens*; that *PIETY* (which was their best word to signify religion) had more than half its sense, in natural and good affection; and stood not only for the adoration and worship of GOD; but for the natural affections of parents to their children, and of children to their parents; of men to their native country; and, indeed, of all men in their several relations one to another.

It must be confess'd, that it has been the reproach of some sects of Christians amongst us, that their religion appear'd to be, in a manner opposite to good nature; and founded in moroseness, selfishness, and ill-will to mankind; things not easily reconcileable with a Christian spirit. But certainly, it may be said of *the church of England*, if of any church in the world, that this is not her spirit: but, it is by characters and features just contrary to these, that *this church* shews herself above all others, most worthily and nobly Christian.

It is certain, that there is nothing more contended for, by those who would not willingly admit a Deity; nor is there any thing of greater use to them, in their way of reasoning, than to have pass as current, that there are in man, no natural principles inclining him to society; nothing that moves him to what is moral, just and honest; except a prospect of some different good, some ad-

advantage of a different sort from what attends the  
 actions themselves. Nor is it strange, that they,  
 who have brought themselves off from so much as  
 believing the reality of any ingenuous action, per-  
 formed by any of mankind, merely through good  
 affection, and a rectitude of temper; should be  
 backward to apprehend any goodness of that sort,  
 in a *higher nature* than that of *man*. But it is  
 strange to conceive, how men who pretend a  
 notion and belief of a *supreme Power*, acting  
 with the greatest goodness, and without any inducement  
 but that of love and good-will, should think  
 it unsuitable to a rational creature, derived from  
 him to act after *his* example, and to find pleasure  
 and contentment in the works of goodness and  
 bounty, without other prospect. But, what is yet  
 more unaccountable, is, that men who profess a  
 religion where *love* is chiefly enjoined; where the  
 heart is expressly called for, and the outward action  
 without that, is disregarded; where charity (or  
 kindness) is made all in all; that men of this per-  
 suasion should combine to degrade the principle of  
 good nature, and refer all to reward; which be-  
 ing made the only motive in man's actions, must  
 exclude all worthy and generous disposition, all  
 that love, charity, and affection, which the scrip-  
 ture enjoins; and without which no action is *lovely*  
 in the sight of God, or man; or in itself deserving  
 of notice or kind reward.

But, perhaps, one reason of this misfortune  
 has been; that some men, who have meant sin-  
 cerely well to religion and virtue, have been afraid,  
 lest by advancing the principle of good nature,  
 and laying too great a stress upon it, the apparent  
 need of *sacred revelation* (a thing so highly impor-  
 tant to mankind) should be, in some measure, taken  
 away. So that they were forced in a manner, to  
 sound VIRTUE, and give way to the imputation.

of being *mercenary*, and of \* *acting in a slavish spirit, in the ways of religion*, rather than admit a sort of rival (in their sense) to the faith of divine revelation : seeing that Christianity (they thought) would, by this means be made less necessary to mankind ; if it should be allowed that men could find any happiness in virtue, but what is in revelation.

THUS, *one party* of men, fearing the consequences which may be drawn from the acknowledgment of moral and social principles in mankind, to the proof of a DEITY's existence ; and, *another party* fearing as much from thence, to the prejudice of revelation ; *each* have in their turns *made war* (if I may say so) even on *virtue* itself : having exploded the principle of good nature ; all enjoyment or satisfaction in acts of kindness and love ; all notion of happiness in temperate courses and moderate desires ; and, in short, all virtue or foundation of virtue ; unless *that*, perhaps, be called *merit* or *virtue* which is left remaining, when all generosity, free inclination, publick spiritedness, and every thing else besides *private regard*, is taken away.

If this may be said to be our case, under this dispute ; and, that true religion itself (which is *love*) be thus endanger'd ; and morality so ill treated, between two such different and distant parties ; if each of these, notwithstanding their vast disagreement, do yet, in this matter, so fatally agree, to decry human nature, and destroy the belief of an immediate good or happiness in *virtue*, as a thing any way suitable to our make and constitution : there is, then, so much the more need of some great and known man to oppose this current. And *here* it is that our *author* has appeared so signally. *Whatsoever* (says he) *some have said*, man's nature is not so untoward a thing (unless it be abused) be

\* Expression of Dr. WHICHCOT'S.



that there is a secret sympathy in human nature, with virtue and honesty ; which gives a man an interest even in bad men. — GOD, in infinite wisdom, has so contrived ; that, if an intellectual being sink itself into sensuality, or any way defile and pollute itself ; then, miseries and torments should beset it, in this state. — VIRTUE and VICE (says he) are the foundations of peace and happiness, or sorrow and misery. — There is inherent punishment belonging to all vice ; and no power can divide or separate them. For, tho' GOD should not, in a positive way, inflict punishment ; or any instrument of GOD punish a sinner ; yet, he would punish himself ; his misery and unhappiness would arise from himself. — Thus speaks our excellent divine, and truly Christian philosopher ; whom, for his appearing thus in defence of *natural goodness*, we may call *the preacher of good nature*. This is what he insists on, every where ; and, to make this evident, is, in a manner, the scope of all his discourses. And, in conclusion of all this ; 'tis hoped that what has been here suggested, may be sufficient to justify the printing of these sermons.

AS for our author himself ; what his life was ; how great an example of that happy temper, and God-like disposition, which he labour'd to inspire ; how much he was, for the excellency of his life, and admirable temper, esteemed and beloved of all ; and even in the worst of times, when feuds and animosities, on the account of religion, were highest (during the time of the late great troubles,) how his character and behaviour drew to him the respect of all parties, so as to make him be remarkably distinguished ; how much in esteem he was with the greatest men ; and how many constant hearers he had of the best rank and greatest note, even of the most eminent divines themselves ; this is sufficiently known. And the testimony which



the late archbishop TILLOTSON has given of him, though it be in a funeral sermon, is known to be in nothing superior to his desert.

THE *sermons* which are here printed, have been selected out of numbers of others less perfect, there being not any of our author's extant, but such as were written after him at church; he having used no other than very short notes, not very legible; though these have been of great use to the publisher, in whose hands they have been.

THE unpolish'd stile and phrase of *our author*, who drew more from a college than a court; and who was more used to school-learning, and the language of an university, than to the conversation of the fashionable world, may possibly but ill recommend his sense to the generality of readers. And since none of these discourses were ever designed for the world, in any other manner than as he (once for all) pronounced them from the pulpit; they must of necessity appear to have a roughness in them, which is not found in other sermons more accurately penned by their authors. For, though the publisher has sometimes supplied him out of himself, by transferring to a defective place, that which he found in some other discourse where the same subject was treated; yet, so great a regard was had to the very *text*, and *letter* of *his author*, that he would not offer to alter the least word: and, wheresoever he has added any thing, to correct the most apparent omission, or fault of the penman, he has taken care to have it marked in different characters; that nothing might appear as *our author's* own, which was not perfectly *his*. Tho', some others in the world have been very far from this caution: since, of late, some things have been set in *our author's* name, which his best friends disown to be his; and which any one who studies him in his genuine works, will easily know to be unworthy of him.

AND, now, when these disadvantages which have been mentioned, are considered ; since they are no more than what sensible people will easily make allowance for ; 'tis presumed there may be in the world some persons who will, notwithstanding, think these sermons to be of worth, and may perhaps discover in them some peculiar beauties, such as are not to be despised for want of that ornament which might have accompanied them. I know that there are now growing up, in the world too many who are prejudiced against all pulpit-discourses ; and who, in this prophane age, are led to think not only *the institution of preaching*, but even the *gospel* itself, and *our holy religion* to be a fraud. But, notwithstanding all the prejudice of this kind, 'tis to be hoped, that even some of these persons (if they have any candor left) may be induced to applaud some things that they may meet with here : so as from hence, perhaps, to like Christianity the better. *This* we may with assurance say, that were there besides ours, any religion, antient or modern, that had so divine a man as this to shew ; these very men would admire and reverence him ; and though a priest of that religion, and bound to comply with established superstition, would praise his virtue ; and, perhaps, be forwardest to extol his sentences and works, in opposition to our sacred religion. But this is hard, that even *heathen religion*, and *paganism* can be more mildly treated, and cause *less aversion* than *Christianity*. To such men as these, I can say nothing further. But if they who are thus set against Christianity, cannot be won over, by any thing that they may find here ; yet we may assure our selves, at least, of *this* good effect from hence, that the excellent spirit which is shewn here, and that vein of goodness, and humanity which appears throughout these discourses,

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will make such as are already Christians, to prize and value Christianity the more : and, the fairness, ingenuity and impartiality, which they may learn from hence, will be a security to them against the contrary temper of those other irreconcilable enemies to our holy faith.

*The End of the Fourth Volume.*

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